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Re-Framing Music Festivals: Exploring Space, Solidarity, Spirituality and Self with Young People

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Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant: Eveleigh Buck-Matthews

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This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the representation of young people at music festivals, it seeks to challenge common, negative and superficial perceptions of young people as they take part in these annual events. The analysis of empirical, qualitative and creative data gained at music festivals over a three-year period, has enabled a re-presentation of youth in relation to music festivals; empirical examples of youth spaces; and the potential for music festivals to offer an alternative blue print for youth society.

The research offers a challenge to prevalent stereotypes and representations surrounding young people at music festivals. Furthermore, an investigation of these youth spaces, shows they are used by young people, to explore space, solidarity, spirituality and self. The research seeks to offer a counter cultural landscape created by young people. The development of immersive and participatory research methods has enabled stereotypes to be confronted. The work has advanced theory concerned with young people's agency and enabled a new focus on the way young people construct and subvert space in music festivals in the UK.

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Chapter One - Introduction

1.1 The Research Landscape.

Music festivals have shaped who I am and are an important part of my history and narrative. The landscape created by music festivals; the short term, weekend, colourful and exciting spaces, have been part of my life since I was fourteen. I remember music festivals as important events in my youth; places where I have enjoyed, times filled with excitement; spaces for sharing the chaotic, youthful, sense of hope such events engendered. As I started to work alongside young people for this study, I began to remember the festivals of my youth. Music festivals which were enjoyed as unique pockets of time, and looking back, were vital developmental spaces. In them I had found a chaotic hopefulness that I could not quite explain. My doctoral study was instigated because I loved festival people and festivals spaces. By researching them I have discovered more than a hedonistic play space. It has been an exhausting and bewildering journey and I have been continuously surprised to find nuances, hidden histories and emergent features that I did not expect.

I determined to return to my youthful playground to discover whether there was anything in music festivals that could counteract negative youth narratives. How could I capture the feelings of unity and solidarity that I had felt as a ‘kid’ and what were the larger stories, narrative and theories that could explain what it was that I felt? The space and its young festival goers dictated the direction of this journey, fieldwork followed young people in and out over two years and methods were constructed around emergent themes and initial data analysis. This work taps into representation to highlight how young people’s

activities and behaviours at music festivals continue to be undervalued and superficially understood.

Drawing on young people's expressions, this thesis explores the ways music festivals create unique social and spatial phenomena. Locating them in a longer history using Bakhtin's conceptual frame of the Carnivalesque (1965) to explore festivals as spaces of subversion, as actions from young people asserting alternative ways of being, living and socialising. The space of the music festival can be seen as the site of temporal outbursts. The parameters of these outbursts were constricted by several practical elements; firstly, by virtue of who inhabited the music festival space, young people who chose to spend their leisure time at festivals. This took the form of people who bought tickets to the events or who volunteered, participants in this study were a mixture of both. Secondly age parameters of this study need outlining alongside the ways youth as a term is conceptualised in this work. Young people is a contested term, (Valentine 1997; Aitkin 2001), as Aitkin (2001) states; 'The Fluidity of terms to describe kids and teens seems appropriate to their shifting identities and so I make no excuses for, indeed I make a point of, slipping between concepts such as infant, toddler, youth, child, adolescent and teenager' (7). Names are political, and this work moves between youth and young people but as it dealt with people over the age of 18 years old it considers youth, rather than children. It does not use the term 'young adult' as it has drawn from cultural theory that understands the power and agency that can originate in 'youth culture' as opposed to seeing 'youth' as a biological age. This work explored festival culture with young people between 18 years old and up to their early 30's, 34 years old. Chapter 3 will explore in more detail this age range but as youth is a contested term, socially constructed, this study identified young people in an openly subjective process, and I approached groups and individuals whom I considered aesthetically looked 'young'. Reflecting on the process, visually targeting participants was only one part of this decision. I was also drawn to people who emitted energies or youthful affect. Groups and individuals that exhibited and inhabited

youthful spaces and groups. There were four outliers, three who were underage and one that was older, more detail is given in Chapter 3, also please see Table 2 for a breakdown of age. There were three young people aged between 16 and 17 years old, who completed the questionnaire, but whose information and data was removed from the study once their age was known. I chose to look at young people over 18 as, although youth is socially constructed, over 18's have the benefit of being legally considered 'free' even if social norms and values inhibit them, society considers them autonomous. I was also very keen to engage in peer research, whilst I was a similar age. I targeted people in my age range, openly, as I believe work with young people can benefit from having 'researchers' who reflect critically and have a similar position, in this case age to participants in the study. I do not think I would have established a place and position amongst the 'tribes' I engaged with if I had been older, it would have taken a different form and the insights I gained as a peer researcher are important for the expansion of festival research and youth studies.

In the ethos of grounded study and snowballing, this study identified young people, individually or in groups and through snowballing it followed from an original contact to those in the larger social group. This study was data driven and grew from empirical experiences, in keeping with grounded approaches it engaged in data collection, had iterative analysis phases and coded from data rather than having a set of research questions. It had bottom up research questions that were developed following initial data collection. Snowballing took place in groups of young people, snowballing was the process of initially engaging one participant who then identifies, invites or brings people they know into the study. Often interest in the project expanded and the initial participant engaged their friends in also filling out questionnaires or doing maps. There were several occasions when I was approached hours or days after initial contact with one participant, by one or more of their friendship groups asking whether they could also provide data.

Knowledge of youth leisure spaces and spaces of consumption have proliferated encompassing and supported by subcultural theory. These studies have evolved with post-

modern thinking and neo-tribalism (Maffesoli 1995) into the most recent incarnation, post-subcultural analysis (Bennett et al. 2011; Muggleton et al. 2003; Robards et al. 2011; Wheaton 2007). Subcultural theory and its critiques have great importance for the continuation and broadening of theoretical understandings of young people. Unpacking representations of young people and perception is important in the age of Brexit and austerity when young people are facing an uncertain future, whilst simultaneously contending with the age-old problem of the representation of youth, which contradictorily presents them as dangerous and apathetic. This work seeks to re-present young people's festival experiences, re-evaluating representations of festivals to add, empirically, to the continuing theorisation of youth and to discussions of young people's position and contribution to society.

Running parallel with theoretical understandings of young people are conceptualisation of space, interlinking with youth (subcultural spaces) the night time economy (NTE), clubs and the urban environment. The emancipatory elements of spaces and its effect on young people have roots in youth studies. There has been great academic headway in relation to music scenes such as, electronic dance music cultures (EDMC) (Moore 2004; Riley et al, 2010; St John 2010; Greener et al. 2006), metal music (Krenske et al. 2000) and grime (Dedman 2011). EDMC scenes and experiences have broadened the concept of youth agency in music spaces. Scholars have reframed youth behaviours in EDMC by illustrating how the everyday political is asserted in club spaces, challenging representations of youth and providing empirical evidence of youth agency, sovereignty and belonging (Riley et al. 2010). Studies of specific spaces have also expanded considerations of youth practices, particularly clubs (Malbon 1998), urban centres and times, for instance the night time economy (NTE) (Chatterton and Hollands 2003)

An important commonality amongst research into popular music, youth studies and space is the concept of temporality. An idea which has been critiqued and expanded, as online virtual spaces extend and proliferate youth communities, tribes and scenes (Bennett,

et al. 2004; Hodkinson 2002). Greener and Holland (2006) discuss the subcultural ingredients and characteristics of the psytrance community, while exploring to what extent they inhabit post-subcultural definitions, in virtual and physical, yet, temporal spaces. Even with diversifying landscapes of youth studies, temporality continues to define youth leisure spaces and the types of communities that emerge. Temporary Autonomous Zones (Bey 1991) situate actions and events that young people are engaged in and draw them into a wider discussion on spaces of dissent. As Bey (1991) states:

> We are looking for "spaces" (geographic, social, cultural, imaginal) with potential to flower as autonomous zones and we are looking for times in which these spaces are relatively open, either through neglect on the part of the State or because they have somehow escaped notice by the mapmakers (Bey 1991:4).

Through ‘neglect’, festival spaces have been able to emerge, quietly, as spaces of empowerment, alternative thinking and agency for young people.

Music festivals are, as this work will argue, a continuation of a longer historical trend of a space in which social norms and customs are subverted. Festivals are a culmination of music producers, performers and fans, usually over a weekend long event that celebrates music. The focus for this study was camping festivals, where participants spent the weekend living in close proximity to one another, most commonly in tents. There are several genres of music festivals, many specialise for one type of music, examples include; EDM (electronic dance music) and Creamfields festival, World Music and Womad festival. The largest and most famous music festival in the UK is Glastonbury Festival in Somerset. This work started at Glastonbury in 2014 and chose case study sites on the basis of first year access and subsequent participant methods. For clarity, this study explored a series of music festivals in the UK (Glastonbury Festival, Bestival, Bloodstock Open Air, Shambala and Beautiful Days) characterised by weekend, camping events and chosen

initially through access and curiosity and developed into a participant led site selection. This occurred when participants in the first year of fieldwork in 2014 were later contacted and followed, with their permission, into the festivals that they were attending in 2015 and 2016. Therefore, the festivals that were focused on were a result of practical access initially that developed into a participatory action of going to festivals that participants were taking part in.

The types of festivals this study explored were very diverse, in accordance with the methods taken. There was a mixture of music genre specific festivals and more diverse ones. Bloodstock was the most music specific, its focus is death / thrash metal music. Beautiful Days festival is characterised by folk and rock with an underlying New Age traveller ethos. Whilst the others in this study had an eclectic mix of music being played, most were spatially separated with different fields and stages for each genre. An example of which is the South East Corner of Glastonbury which caters to metal and EDM.

While much music research has had a focused-on music genres and locations, little attention has been paid to music festivals in the UK, although theoretical and empirical papers have refered to festivals, there has been a shallow engagement with the space. Academic literature has noted the role that music festivals have played in the creation of counter culture in the UK, but it has not contemporarily explored, empirically, the space in its own right. Festivals are created by, support and maintain music scenes but work into young people have been music genre specific and not explored young people in diverse music places. This project, although exploring music festivals, has not centred on the music or one genre of music festival. The music did not inform the choices of festivals for the study, as the methodology will show, and neither did it emerge as an analytical focus. Music does inform the landscape academically but it is the social and spatial features of music festivals, and their effects, that are the lens through which this project aims to understand young people’s experiences at music festivals.

Young people at music festivals have a distinct representation, most recently epitomised by the film ‘The Festival’ (2018) by Iain Morris. They are often understood in the mainstream media as being highly hedonistic spaces and young people that take part in them are predominantly represented as engaging in unproductive activities; drinking, taking drugs or dancing. This thesis demonstrates that such a perception reflects an unreasonable and generalised stereotype.

There has been a spate of interest from the media, critiquing the activities of young people at festivals, which both illuminate and perpetuate public discourses and narratives associated with music festivals. It is important, therefore, to look at the media landscape that informs and portrays the representation of music festivals and those who attend them. There is typically a flurry of media coverage in the summer leading up to festival season, starting in early June and ending at the close of the season in September. More people are attending music festivals each year, even though many festivals collapse, more arise to take their place. Festival scholars in the field of events management have debated whether the industry has reached saturation point (Getz 2002). A conversation that has also been played out in the press, the *Financial Times* (McNulty 2017[1]), the *Guardian* (Salmon 2011[2]) and the *Telegraph* (Green 2015[3]) have all discussed the perceived peak of UK music festivals.

Regardless of the almost yearly debates, festivals have become a staple of youth activities during the summer. Reflecting wider music festival popularity in the UK, newspaper articles proliferate with articles but they also contain specific negative characteristics that hint at a deeper perception held about the space. The media locate festivals in an contained way, not nuancing behaviour beyond the space or time, and in

[1] Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/622d56e2-157f-11e7-b0c1-37e417ee6c76
[2] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/sep/15/uk-festivals-bubble-burst
[3] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/music-festivals/11560934/Have-we-finally-hit-peak-festival.html

many of the cases report negative news such as, death (Payton 2016[4]) or drugs (Gardner 2017[5]). This representation constructs festivals as negative and dangerous places in the public imagination, embeds it into collective memory creating a narrative that is retold each summer. Importantly, 2017 saw a shift in this narrative, to the literature and coverage coming out of UK music festivals, with The Loop[6] establishing a place informing music festival reports in the media, and in the wider social imagination. I was lucky enough to be part of the first crew of The Loop at Secret Garden Party, in 2016. They were covert at that point, drug testing pills and powders for festival goers for the purpose of harm reduction. After the successful initial year, they 'came out' in the festival circuit in 2017, with plans to move the service into public spaces in towns and cities in 2018. This process from temporal festival space to public space shows that alternative thinking and practice within festivals can move beyond it.

Music festival spaces necessitated and enabled The Loop to establish a presence. Characteristics of the space facilitated and helped a counter cultural way of thinking and practice to develop roots and a platform for influencing public policy. The organisation has changed discourses around the necessity for harm reduction as well as the perception of drug takers. Already it has changed the media's gaze and narratives emerging from festivals, the media coverage of the organisation adds a positive narrative into the superficial and negative 'usual story' that is reported about the space. Through the press of music festivals, as sites for drug safety and not drug danger, as illustrated in the many news articles to emerge after Secret Garden Party 2016. Although the The Loop shows a

[4] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/t-in-the-park-music-festival-edinburgh-drugs-related-named-megan-bell-peter-mccallum-a7128686.html

[5] Available at: https://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/leeds-festival-drug-dealer-had-ecstasy-pills-hidden-in-sleeping-bag-1-8608282

[6] The Loop. The Loop Organisation is a not for profit organisation that works in festivals as 'onsite' drug testers, offering drug safety testing, harm reduction and welfare advice. They conduct scientific testing on pills and powders and provide subsequent advice and welfare for those using the service. more information can be found at https://wearetheloop.org/team

positive move forward for the representation of music festivals, the majority of newspaper articles are still concerned with the negative attributes of music festivals like; deaths and drug use, perpetuating an image of danger. The *Independent* ran an article entitled; *Music festival fans tell us their absolute worst festival stories* (Carissimo 29 July 2016[7]), illustrating how the media is often negatively framing music festivals, by focusing on the 'absolute worst' experiences people have had in the space. If news articles are not focused on danger they centre on superficial aspects of festivals such as Festival 'essentials', festival fashions or festival trends and articles ranking music festivals, 'top ten' summer music festivals or top boutique festivals (Nash 3 March 2016[8]). These reports often occur in the lifestyle sections of national newspapers and are considered light reading and entertainment rather than critical responses to music festivals. In turn, this constructs a one-dimensional public understanding of the space as a superficial, with little benefit to its attendee's. Music festivals are not seen as places for positive practices from young people, due to their representation as a space of dangerous, hedonistic or superficial behaviours. This work seeks to address the representation by drawing on empirical data to show how festivals are a sight for youth politics, resilience, growth and creativity. Music festivals are undervalued and overlooked sites for productive behaviours from young people. While the media represents the space, community and participants as hedonist and individualistic, this study challenges representation by acknowledging positive practices that are being undertaken by young people.

1.2 Research Rationale.

[7] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/music-fans-tell-us-their-absolute-worst-festival-stories-a7123831.html
[8] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/student/student-life/music-film/festival-season-2016-the-top-10-to-do-this-summer-a6909726.html

Music festival literature has not readily engaged with research methods that centrally position its attendees. Literature has focused on young people but has not employed research methods and approaches that place young people in the centre of its design. There are no accounts of research into young people's lived experiences that have been inductive and grounded from participants at music festivals that I have found. By not exploring these avenues research has not established young people as actors, or agents within the space who can shape and change it spatially or socially. By not considering young people's agency at music festivals literature disempowers and minimalises their presence. There has been a wide range of literature that theorises the Carnivalesque, using Bakhtinian analysis of the space (Anderton 2008) and therefore, literature has engaged by expanding festival theory but has had limited engagement with those that inhabit the space. None of the current literature on festivals fully explores young people's voices from music festivals and this is this gap in research that this thesis fills.

1.3 Research Questions and Design

This research addresses a significant academic gap in literature that conceptualises young people. Also, contemporary UK music festivals have not been conceptualised as a case study for youth engagement and as a site for alternative social, spiritual or spatial practices.

1.3.1 Research Questions

To gain a broader understanding of the specific and informative social and spatial practices that young people are taking part in at music festivals, this study will respond to five research questions, which were formulated iteratively and have been co-constructed through fieldwork, literature, data and analysis.

1. How are young people theorised in youth studies literature and how are music festivals portrayed in academic texts and grey literature in the UK?
2. How do young people create and subvert social space at music festivals and what does this tell us about the kind of spaces they value?
3. How do young people connect with each other and construct community in festival spaces and what does this reveal about the type of communities that young people want to be part of?
4. How do young people conceptualise social space and how does this impact on the ways in which they think about existential/social/spiritual meanings?
5. What kinds of identities and ideas of self are music festivals creating? And what can this tell us about the longer lasting influence and impact of festivals on young people?

Research question one will be addressed through an exploration of existing literature focusing on young people, looking at how this has broadened the ways that young people's leisure activities are considered theoretically, and how their social purposes and engagement in music scenes have been understood. The argument of youth agency in leisure spaces has not been explored in festival spaces, even though they embody alternative, energetic and creative spaces. Festival spaces have been under researched as sites for youth self-expression, exploration and transformation. This work builds on academic traditions of post-subcultural writers and those who draw on traditions of neo-tribalism to evaluate the kinds of process that young people are drawing energy, joy and empowerment from. It deepens discourse by interlinking spatial, spiritual and social, and cuts across disciplinary boundaries to reimagine youth participation in spaces as political and powerful exclamations on how they wish to live.

Chapter two focusses on the representation of festival spaces and its communities, and chapter three expands on this by framing young people's spiritual and emotional, embodied

understandings of space. Both chapters draw on critical themes that emerged during festival fieldwork, exploring the social and spatial processes that became apparent during fieldwork. Chapter two highlights festivals and contextualises how the space has been theorised by a deconstruction of the representation of festivals, how music festival representations frame young people's leisure activities as problematic and in doing so further disempowers them. In doing so, it problematises the taken-for-granted presentation of festival spaces and critiques the concept that they are not worthy of academic investigation. After highlighting the prevailing discourse, discussion draws from spatial theory in order to demonstrate how festival spaces function and enable positive social processes.

Exploration of case studies, presented in chapter five, of subverted festival space provides answers research question two. Spatial theory frames how the space is encouraging different behaviours and norms than outside, in regular society. These counter cultural behaviours became evident through subsequent fieldwork and theorising in other fieldwork chapters in this work, articulated in this study as solidarity, spirituality and self. The spatial aspects of music festivals are discussed, presenting an insight into space that analyses the social construction of shared space within the boundaries of the festival gates. This study continues in a tradition of conceptualising space geographically and identity as located in place and time, (Malbon 2002) alongside social aspects of how music festivals map onto neo-tribalism (Maffesoli 1995) and also functions as a TAZ (Bey 1991).

Question three is answered by exploring the kinds of communities the space is creating, discussion draws on neo-tribalism, communitas (Turner 1969) and the subcultural landscape to frame, both ethnographic and creative empirical data, to illustrate the characteristics of festival tribes and demonstrate the way that young people wish to socialise. This work deconstructs the ways young people are creating unity and solidarity. By intertwining the historical link to New Age philosophies, alongside a discussion about contemporary spirituality in the UK, this work highlights young people's spiritual accounts

and engagements at music festivals. The way in which young people articulate spiritual thinking through the creation of sacred spaces and connections made to place, space and nature at music festivals, challenges the representation that music festivals are hedonistic spaces.

To address research question five, young people's understanding of their own identities and senses of self at music festivals is evaluated. This illustrates that the music festival space is enabling transformative practices, both physical and emotional, showing the impact and positive characteristics that counter cultural and alternative spaces can have for young people.

Together, the analysis chapters provide a counter narrative to the prevailing discourse, one based on empirical evidence that documents young people engaging in alternative ways of being and socialising that express their values and show what is important to them. There are also gaps in the public discourse surrounding music festivals which this work challenges by showing the positive characteristics that young people are demonstrating spatially, socially and spiritually at festivals. In doing so, this work not only illuminates the counter narrative but also suggests that wider society can learn from this narrative, and come to understand that music festivals can provide a case study of positive practice of community.

1.3.2 Research Design

Methodologically this work breaks new ground by employing several creative and participatory methods at music festivals to elicit a variety of youth voices and to gain insight into young people's values. The methods used also encompassed multiple qualitative methods such as questionnaires, imagined mapping and participant reflective interviews. The creative mapping element of this study was conducted in music festivals and although

logistically difficult it meant that I could capture, in the moment, reflections and emotional responses to the space.

The study engaged in an interdisciplinary way in spaces which transcend the conventions of other researched youth spaces, namely the night and the urban. These distinct but overlapping spaces provide a stable foundation from which to theorise young people's communities and identities but the festival space provides exciting variations by virtue of being a place and time that exists outside social and spatial norms.

To capture young people's experiences in this study, it was necessary to use a multiple method approach to encourage engagement in a range of ways. The process was grounded and the methods evolved through trial and error, and the flexibility of the study meant that a range of data types were collected, with young people articulating through words, written and spoken alongside drawings utilising mapping methods. To structure and enable a thick description, this study also drew on an ethnographic approach to music festivals and, utilised double reflexivity (Blackman 1998). The methods combined spatial and social interactions with festival spaces to bridge disciplines and create, a partially participatory picture of young people's engagement at music festivals, in a way that subcultural research has not engaged with before.

1.4 Situating the Study

In this study I argue that young people use the social space of music festivals to fashion contextualised narratives of meaning, which counter a dominant discourse that presents them as socially disengaged and hedonistic (BBC3 2014). By showing the social and spatial processes that are taking place, this work demonstrates the ways that young people create and construct unity, spirituality and identity at music festivals. This re-presentation challenges oppressive discourses about young people and about music festivals by

reframing the space and its young attendees, to positively broaden the way society considers young people and the way they socialise. The study aims to capture and amplify young people's voices in a manner that shows insight into the processes that are engaging so many young people each summer and examines what this can tell us about the wider motivations and values of young people. The aim, objectives and research questions were constructed following initial exploratory fieldwork, and the methods chapter will articulate the approach in more detail in order to demonstrate how this work has been grounded, empirically informed and the process iterative.

1.4.1 Objectives

There are four objectives that this study will explore to understand how young people are interacting at music festivals and what kinds of social worlds and spaces young people create, these are:

1. To critically analyse the prevailing narratives about young people in UK and dominant discourses about music festivals.
2. To develop a grounded theory informed analysis of the social meanings young people attach to their engagement and experiences in music festivals.
3. To identify the specific features of music festivals, which enable young people to articulate a counter-cultural discourse of meaning.
4. To describe and critically analyse the key features of this counter-cultural discourse of meaning.

The first objective is expanded upon and explored within two literature reviews. This part of the study analyses the narrative of music festivals, and the way festivals are presented in both academic and media literature. Drawing on theoretical understandings of temporal spaces, this section challenges the way that space is understood through anarchic ideas

of transformative temporal spaces. The first literature review considers the ways that young people create communities and critiques postmodernist (Bauman 2000) understandings of the social processes that create community. The second literature review, Chapter three, frames young people and contextualises their understanding of spirituality in response to a fracturing of society. Chapter three analyses the spiritual processes that emerge in the TAZ (Bey 1991) of the festival and, finally, frames the understanding of identity amongst young people and the ways in which perceptions of the self are re-negotiated within and influenced by festival space[s]. This work analyses four themes presented in the fieldwork chapters, that are empirically informed and emerged out of three years of ethnographic and qualitative fieldwork at music festivals between June and September in 2014, 2015 and 2016. The results of the study suggest that young people are engaged at music festivals in ways they do not engage in outside of the space. They construct new ways of thinking and engage socially, spatially and spiritually in ways that contradict the perception that they are unengaged, dangerous or apathetic. Music festivals encourage reflection and re-thinking from young people and highlights what young people value. Close examination and occupation of festival spaces reveals a space of extremes, that embody senses of connection and unity, enabling the co-construction of space and alternative spiritual practices and language. These findings present a picture of hopeful youth, young people who are thinking about their future and the types of societies they want to be part of. Investigating music festivals uncovers a place full of transformative practices, of alternative thinking and transgressive acts that impact on young people and change the way they see themselves, others and wider society.

1.4.2 Thesis Structure

The spatial and social theory discussed in this work responded to the manifestations of social phenomena that emerged through empirical data. The fieldwork, in turn, helped me to rethink the approach to the literature and therefore strengthened the four emergent

themes – space, solidarity, spirituality and self. The space section explores the material practices, and the solidarity section explores the communal processes that are evident at music festivals. These two sections have implications for the second part of the literature review, the group practices and theories discussed in this initial literature chapter leads into a discussion about how these inform the personal and individual processes of spirituality and self in the following literature chapter. The order of the literature review is mirrored in the analysis section later in this work, space and solidarity are followed by a discussion of self and spirituality.

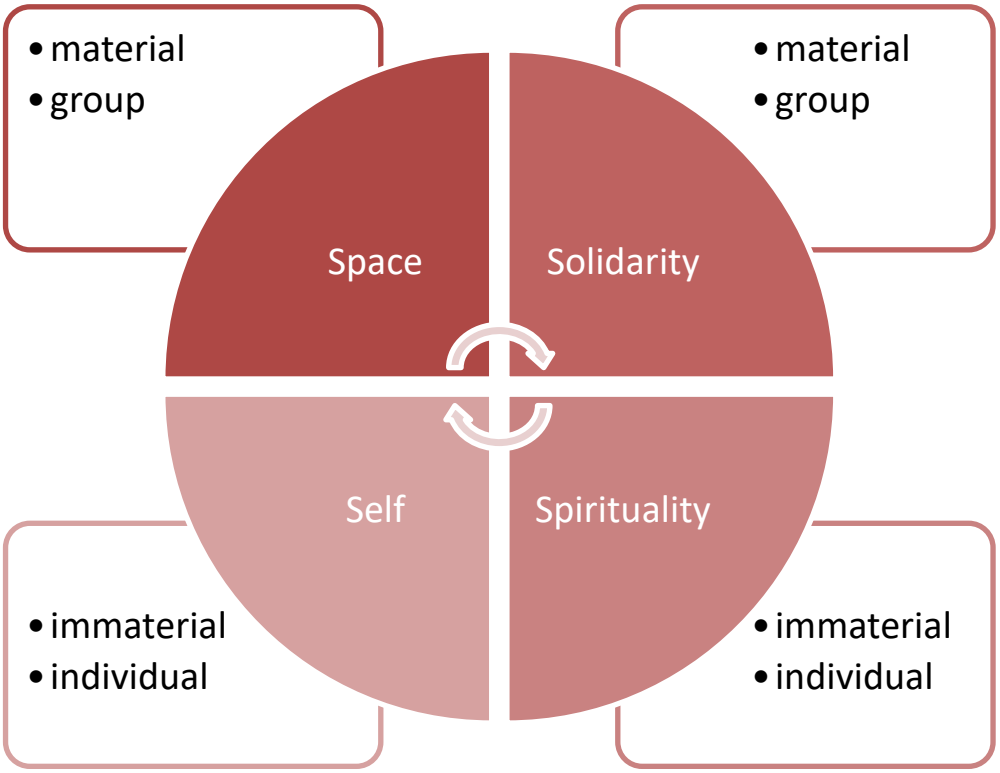


Figure 1 Thesis Movement and Progression

The two diagrams Figure 1 and 2, visualise the interrelationships between the themes that emerged during fieldwork. Figure 1 describes the nature of each and how they differentiate between the material and immaterial processes but also denotes how each corresponds with the next, co-constructing one another. The material nature of music festivals facilitates the social practices that take place. Figure 2 describes the interrelationships between the

themes. The main split between the themes is the place they are situated, the site they are felt, experienced and constructed. Space and solidarity are created at music festivals through collective action and processes, while spirituality and self are, personally embodied processes felt at music festivals individually. The space of the music festival, or the macro and material, is firstly contextualised in this chapter because it facilitates the other three processes and enables exploration of new forms of solidarity, spirituality and self. This macro process and context lead to a discussion of the meso or festival community and the process of solidarity that bonds young people into groupings, conceptualised as solidarity.

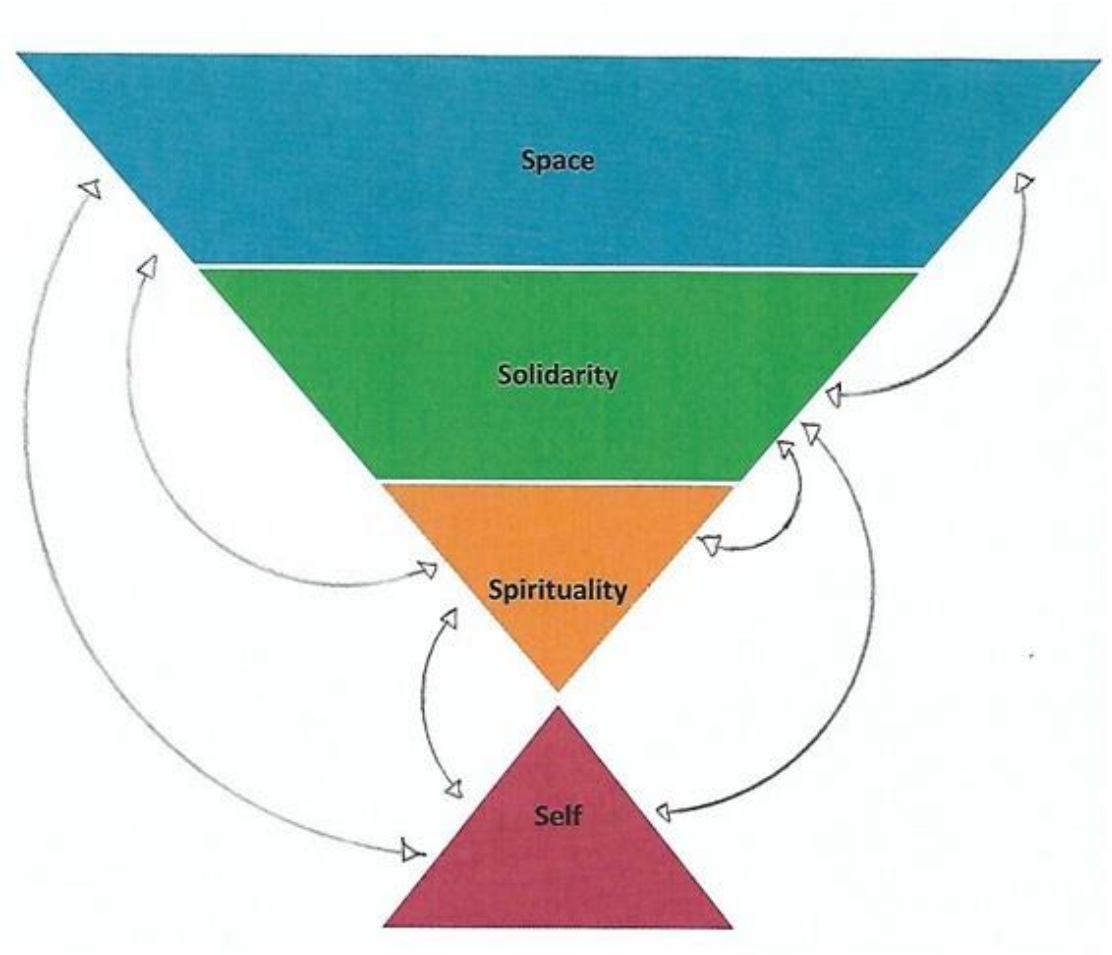


Figure 2 Interdependance and Interrelationships: Macro, Meso and Micro.

Figure 2 shows the themes identified in fieldwork and the levels which they operate on, it also explains the order that they are explored in this work. The order highlights the seminal process that runs through this work, space. Identified at music festivals space, how it was felt, used and subverted, was influential in constructing alternative social, spiritual and personal processes. It is represented here as the larger blue part of the pyramid, it is no more important than the other themes, but the size represents it as a macro process. Macro as it is the system in which social processes are taking place and frames how these are created. It represents the physical environment of the festivals, the backdrop and facilitator of the processes that take place within its boundaries. The way that festival spaces are constructed enables alternative thinking, behaviours and relations to be experienced by young people. This work continues by exploring the way that space enables a unique form of solidarity. Solidarity is depicted as a smaller green section, narrowing the triangle as it represents the meso level of study and is concerned about ways the festival groups, tribes and communities are created. The diagram then leads onto the micro levels explored in this study: spirituality and self. The arrows on the diagram emphasise the connections between the levels and themes, each informs the others and co-create the lived experiences of young people at festivals. The festival tribe and its solidarity have influenced ideas of spirituality and the self. Space, at the macro level, is a key component in facilitating the social, personal phenomena that emerged in the field. The final two fieldwork chapters are represented as the same smaller sized triangles (orange and red) to define them as personal, micro-level process. However, self is inverted to represent that the effects of the festival self are projecting further, outside and beyond this study. Highlighting how the impacts of the festival experience and practices outlined in this study penetrate and spread further beyond the space, time and confines of a music festival. The first literature chapter now explores the meso-scale, the negative representation of festival spaces and outlines why new concepts are required to challenge negative images. There is a need to disrupt prevailing discourses surrounding music festivals and to find new theories to challenge

ideas of young people, spaces and communities in festivals and power relations in society. This work proposes spatial and social theory that re-envisions the space and re-defines social relations within it, in order to broaden and deepen the image of festivals and readdress perceptions of young festival goers.

The work is structured as follows, two literature reviews critically analyse the prevailing academic and political narratives about music festivals and young people. The work frames how festivals are constructed in popular culture followed by a discussion of alternative ways to theorise the space and its occupants. The second literature review will offer alternative ways to consider young people, exploring ways to theorise youth identities and spirituality. The methodology chapter follows the two literature reviews. The methodological approach is informed by critical theory that emerged from the earlier works of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), alongside participatory approaches that place young people at the heart of the research process. This chapter will outline the key methods of data collection that were used and explain the theoretical frameworks that informed the research design and the ontological perspective that underpins this study. The chapter will provide detail of how the methodological framework was iteratively constructed, informed by a critical perspective that understands the space as socially constructed and produced (Lefebvre et al. 1991). It explains the partial use of a participatory approach to research, which was intended to interrupt oppressive structures, prevailing voices, and dominant narratives by incorporating young people's voice and, to a lesser degree, their analysis into this work.

The thesis then moves onto a series of four theoretically informed empirical fieldwork chapters: space, solidarity, spirituality and self. Space sets out how music festival spaces are different, alternative and unique moments for young people. The chapter argues that festivals disrupt social and cultural norms and, in so doing, create space, time and the potential for other ways for young people to think, act and participate. I demonstrate how

the counter cultural festival space facilitates new ways of thinking, thereby laying the foundation for the following three fieldwork chapters. Drawing on spatial theories and empirical insights, chapter five contextualises music festivals by integrating them into their historical context and discusses materiality and characteristics of the festival space and how this can encourage alternative ways for young people to socialise and create community. The details of how and why this space becomes alternative is explored with consideration of both anarchist (Bey 1991) and liminal (Turner 1969) space theory and how these illuminate empirical examples from the field. The chapter suggests that alternative, counter cultural and natural social processes can be constructed in a space that is free from social and cultural norms. To unpack the social processes that are taking place in music festivals solidarity is explored, as a collective form of social practice it demonstrates the types of communities that are created in a TAZ as well as the processes that create them and make them unique.

Chapter six, solidarity, critically evaluates how the space and socialness of young people intertwine to create new forms of connection and unique communities based on different social and behavioural norms. The chapter demonstrates the ways young people are socialising and how festival tribes are created and constructed naturally. The chapter draws on neo-tribal ideas of communities to evaluate the characteristics of festival tribes, exploring the ways tribes are created and how some young people are forming friendships and closeness at music festivals. The following chapter will continue to explore the naturally occurring processes with an exploration of spirituality. The latter half of the thesis discusses the micro levels of study and the processes that take place to inform change, transformation and alternative thinking about spirituality and self at music festivals.

Chapter seven shows how new individualised, place-based spiritualities emerge within music festivals and the ways these are articulated by young people. Drawing from studies of New Age travellers and the spiritual milieu of this loose movement, the chapter argues

that the festival space, enriched by a spiritual history, continues to encourage and facilitate spiritual reflection and practices that are being played with by young people in the space. During fieldwork the emergent themes of spirituality surprised me, and through further ethnographic exploration this study focused on the emerging spiritual practices, beliefs and reflections of young people in music festivals. Chapter seven evaluates alternative spirituality and how the festival space is encouraging young people to engage with spiritual 'meaning making', reflection and conceptualising alternative beliefs. The chapter concludes by exploring how young people re-consider their own sense of personal identity within the context of the music festival, leading on to an exploration of self and identity in the final fieldwork chapter eight.

Building on the discussion of the personal in chapter seven, the final fieldwork chapter, self, highlights how the cultural landscape of the music festivals is influential in creating unique and counter cultural identities. The chapter considers the articulations of identity and self that young people exhibit in festival spaces, this analysis alongside spirituality and solidarity demonstrate the types of social, spiritual and individual processes that young people articulate in festival spaces and reflect the ways that they naturally create community and consider themselves. The transformative potential of music festivals for young people is a recurring theme within this work and the final chapter explores how festival space enables young people to engage in a personal exploration of their sense of self. When young people play with senses of self, dress, appearance and identities at festivals they are also expressing how the space is making them feel. It is through this narrative that the discussion about freedom and what liberation brings young people is continued. The chapter concludes that young people feel safe expressing what they consider to be their true selves at music festivals.

1.5 Conclusion

Media narratives are negative representing and disingenuous in their construction of the space and the descriptions of young people who are at music festivals. As an exploratory investigation, this work shows how young people are engaging and value the space and the community that is produced. Young people are investing in and being active in creating tribes and solidarity at festivals. In return the space is opening, and having an emancipatory effect on young people, encouraging their creativity and self-esteem. By setting out the narratives that are perpetuated about young people and music festivals, this work seeks to address the nature of the discourse and reframe music festivals to show the positive social and emotional impacts they have for young people. This reframing will illustrate the types of communities young people want to be involved in, the kinds of spiritual beliefs young people construct and will also show the emotional impact the festival space has for young people. Music festivals as youth spaces are less theorised than young people in general, so this work broadens and deepens the research in this area. Empirical evidence shows how festivals are spaces that enable and encourage young people to play with and articulate ideas and concepts that they cannot engage with outside of the festival space. There is a freedom felt and embodied at music festivals, and this freedom is encouraged, in all its guises: freedom of thinking, of dress, socialising with strangers, and freedom in behaviour. The prevailing, final thought of this work is that the festival space is an enabling one through open practices that allow for young people to construct, a hopeful future, an articulation of the ways they want to live, of how they hope society can be, and the kind of society they want to be part of. For young people festivals are free from social narratives that constrict and confine their thoughts and behaviour, providing emancipation though participation in the lived experience of music festivals.

The desire to explore music festivals and academically articulate the essence that I had felt from my first Leeds Festival in 2004, was the starting point for this data led exploration of the social and spatial landscape of music festivals. The aim of this research is to use young people's own voices, drawings and my own insights as a participant observer to counteract the prevailing narratives about young people at music festivals. This thesis offers a counter argument that young people are creating and engaging a new narrative through their social and spatial practices in ways that societal discourse does not recognise or validate.

Building on previous work about the 2011 riots and the subsequent negative framing of young people, it has sought to critique the ways that music festivals and young people have been represented in wider society. This work offers a small insight into the elements that young people value and which they articulate in a space that is free from social and cultural norms that serve to hinder their everyday expression. Music festivals are TAZ and can be seen as an expression of the ways young people wish to live with one another and the type of society that they might build if oppressive structures and narratives weren't inhibiting the way they would naturally act and interact with one another.

By appreciating and acknowledging the positive and potentially transformative aspects of music festivals, it widens debates about how society can negatively affect young people by imposing and perpetuating stereotypes that do not engage with, or accurately represent, the ways that young people naturally come together and form communities.

2.

Chapter Two – Representations of Music Festivals

2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the ways music festivals have been researched, presented and explored in the media and scholarly literature. The chapter outlines the media representations of music festivals and the media image of the young people who attend, highlighting the negative images, narratives and discourses that exist in the public domain about the behaviours of young people at music festivals. The chapter highlights the negative framing of the space to show the need to bring new theories and perspectives into the field that broaden the concept of music festivals and challenge their negative image. Spatial and social theory will be drawn on to expand the understanding of the way festival space is conceptualised, and the chapter outlines the theoretical lenses that frame the space and its attendees. The focus is on the physical landscape in which this study took place. To respond adequately to the materiality of festivals this work highlights how the media and academic literature understands them as contained spaces of production and consumption. Before moving onto engage in a critical dialogue with existing socio-spatial literature and developing a fuller understanding of music festival spaces and explore the ways they are broadened, conceptually and theoretically, by incorporating liminal, temporal and socially produced ideas of space. This first literature chapter offers a critical analysis of spatial and communal concepts as they relate to the construction of social space and temporal communities amongst young people at music festivals.

2.2 Music Festival Space

Existing academic and grey literature on the contextual and material nature of music festivals does not adequately analyse the validity of the negative presentation of young people. This chapter gains insights drawn from Bakhtin's (1965) theorising of the carnivalesque and neo-tribal analyses to address this gap in knowledge. It is necessary to draw on grey literature from newspapers and television to expose the way that music festivals are thought of by wider society. An engagement with theoretical approaches and alternative, countercultural understandings of space can enable the re-conceptualising of the role and significance of music festivals and their potential for transformative practice amongst young people. Alternative socio-spatial theory addresses the significant theoretical gap in the literature concerning music festivals by theorising the spatial characteristics of music festivals through use of Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque and Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ) (1991) to articulate an anarchistic interpretation of alternative, temporal and liminal space. Such an approach enables us to develop a fuller understanding of the unique capacity of festival space and how they create countercultural social practices. There is also a need to contextualise music festivals highlighting how they are a space with historical links to older forms of counter cultures and are spaces of subversion and a societal necessity.

The music festival space is socially constructed. Created, co-constructed and subverted by young people as a result of their engagement and participation. The spatial and social elements of music festivals are interlinked and do not adhere to societal norms. Rather young people forge new forms of social relations, behaviour and interaction. By showing how it is socially produced (Lefebvre 1991) my research demonstrates how music festival space interrelates with the festival community to create solidarity. Drawing on the concepts of TAZ and liminal spaces (Turner 1969) alongside understandings of how space

is co-formed by the community that inhabits the space, this work enables the space to be conceptualised differently, once this takes place it becomes possible to understand how young people find positive, transformative inspiration and can create new forms of sociality and ways of being. All of which contradicts and challenges the images and representations of music festivals in UK media.

The perception of music festivals and the behaviour of those who attend are greatly influenced by public perception and social discourses in the wider society which is, in turn, informed by grey literature and the media representation of festival space. There has been a shallow academic focus on UK music festivals. Festivals have been referenced, in particular, the free festival movements of the 1970s, but such consideration has often been anecdotal (Partridge 2005). Little empirical or longitudinal research has been undertaken into festival spaces, especially in recent years. This lack of academic analysis of the space coupled with high levels of media interest in music festivals means that the dominant representation of the modern music festival has been through the lens of the media. It is important, therefore, to adopt a critical attitude to this dominant discourse and representation of festivals. This research begins with the public perception of music festivals, in order to critique it and present a more realistic picture of the festival experience. The chapter will outline the literature that directly discusses UK music festivals. It will look at the representation of the space based on grey literature and move to academic writing on music festivals, limited as it is and across disciplinary boundaries.

2.2.1 Media Discourse about Music Festivals.

Several issues have become a focus for media attention preceding and after the festival season, this chapter explores what these narratives say about the way that music festivals are thought of and constructed in society. As not everyone has been to music festivals, the media plays an important role in shaping the perceptions of the space. The media promote a negative image of the space and those that attend festivals, focus has been on rape and

sexual assault with articles from the *Guardian* and *The Telegraph*; 'The Dark Truth about Music Festivals' (Sanghani 2015) and 'Are music festivals doing enough to tackle sexual assault' (Davies 2017). The effect of this reported image is to diminish the reputation of the festival space and young people. It promotes a one-dimensional, superficial perspective that, through repetition in the media, gets entrenched within the social imagination. Either music festivals are presented as dangerous spaces, dangerous for women, or dangerous because of drug activities (Sanghani 2015[9]). Alternatively, they are superficial, the media reports of top fashion trends (Teather 2017[10]) or how pineapples are banned from Leeds Festival (The Daily Telegraph 2017[11]) all exasperate the issue that the presentation of music festivals as superficial spaces, whose main contribution is to aesthetics of fashion. Articles focus on a shallow idea of the space or demonise it as a space to be feared. Both of which entrench the picture of hedonistic and irresponsible youth at music festivals which can become imprinted in people's minds by the repetition of media imagery. The narratives; festivals are dangerous, and festivals are superficial, become cemented in individuals perception of the space, and at the macro societal level when it moves into collective memory (Cohen 2002:9). If alternative images of the space are not presented or the negative ones not challenged, then festivals remain understood through the lens of newspaper articles and the narratives that they produce. This then negatively impacts young people who attend, affecting how they see themselves in relation to wider society and can distance them from society by perpetuating intergenerational misunderstandings. Negative presentations, once embedded, can also lead to a rise in such behaviours and have a detrimental effect on the lives of young people. Labelling theory (Becker 2008) explores representation amongst those labelled as 'deviant' and how this can lead to a rise

[9] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11822420/Bestival-UK-music-festivals-have-a-rape-problem-that-needs-action-now.html
[10] Available at: https://www.standard.co.uk/fashion/news/glastonbury-2017-fashion-street-style-from-this-years-festival-as-revellers-battle-scorching-a3571561.html
[11] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/14/pineapples-banned-reading-leeds-music-festivals/

in deviant behaviour. Becker identified a direct relationship between negative labelling of young people, as dangerous and deviant, and a rise in negative behaviours. The media representation of music festivals labels them culturally worthless, for those involved and for wider society. The media presents the image of a hedonistic, drug taking, fashion conscious, superficial young festival goer and this does not empower young people but labels their activities in music festivals as valueless, lacking any benefit to themselves or to society as a whole. By offering a counter-narrative, this research seeks to mitigate the effects of labelling theory by proposing an alternative representation, which shows the positive social practices and behaviours that young people experience and engage in at music festivals.

2.2.2 Media Framing and the Ministry of Defence.

While many of the negative images discussed above emerge within the predominantly right-wing and tabloid press, there is equally negative framing in liberal and left-wing newspaper articles. When fieldwork began in 2014, I became aware that other festival research was being undertaken by the Ministry of Defence (MOD). The *Guardian* newspaper reported that £139,649 (Quinn 2014[12]) was allocated to research focussing on mass crowd control and surveillance with music festivals acting as a social laboratory. MOD research was conducted in the same summer that I began fieldwork, alongside other intrusive 'Big Brother' type activities that took place that year. Most noticeably at Download festival 2014 where articles from the *Independent* (Gallagher 2015[13]), *BBC* (BBC Leicestershire 2015[14]) and a series of smaller online newspapers, such as Vice (Zadeh 2015[15]) reported on facial recognition software at festivals. They reported on the

[12] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jan/07/ministry-defence-fund-research-online
[13] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/download-festival-facial-recognition-technology-used-at-event-could-be-coming-to-festivals-10316922.html
[14] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-33132199
[15] Available at: https://noisey.vice.com/en_us/article/64y37q/download-festival-is-a-police-trial-ground-for-facial-recognition

problematic activities of the police who used facial recognition technology on 100,000 festival goers on their arrival to the festival. This type of government funding into UK music festival research throws up problematic issues relating to the motivation behind such research and the extent to which it can be considered ethical, overt and not impeding on personal freedoms and privacies of festival goers, currently or its implications for the future. The MOD research appears to have been security orientated, and so it is possible that the resulting research could be used to develop approaches to crowd control and the submission of protests or large gatherings. Issues of privacy also become questionable with research going into drone technology and facial recognition. An interesting result of the MOD's research, and one which stimulated my consideration of the superficial presentation of the space and its impact was the response by the *Guardian* (Jonze 2014[16]) to the funding. The *Guardian* superficualised ethical issues associated with funded security research and questioned the value of research at music festivals altogether, 'The Ministry of Defense has stated it will be investigating crowd behaviour at music festivals. Is this a waste of money or could it put an end to terrorism by attending Download?' (Jonze 2014). Although the article on the surface seems balanced, it is overwhelmingly sarcastic and makes light of the potential for meaningful research to take place at music festivals. It trivialises the space and concludes that there is no useful benefit for security research or any other fields of study using festivals, an extract reads:

> Observers in the rave tent found a peculiar sense of harmony between all attendees that could possibly end all terrorism and war if recreated outside a festival setting. Sadly, they woke up the next day with fluorescent face paint on, having lost their notes (Jonze 2014).

[16] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2014/jan/09/music-festivals-ministry-of-defence-crowd-behaviour

Jonze recreates the perception that there is nothing useful that can be explored in the space, as well as demeaning those that research it. It concentrates and fuels the discourse that festivals function only for hedonistic activity and cannot produce any meaningful academic insights for social good, festivals are presented as one dimensional, void of having the capacity for facilitating positive action. It hints at the potential 'harmony' between people within the community but then goes on to show how, because it is a temporal experience, it is without importance. Jonze also strengthened the drug taking stereotype of a festival goer that the media literature presented:

> Attendees at music festivals seem willing to put anything in their mouths, dance in any manner to any kind of music no matter how terrible (even the Fratellis ffs) and live in a manner that suggests they are sub-human at best. As such, the sample is so unrepresentative of normal human behaviour that we are forced to consider any findings from this research completely meaningless (Jonze 2014).

Jonze suggests that festival goers are drug takers, a perception dispelled by the UKFA Festival report (2015) that is discussed later in this chapter. The moral panic or myth the article perpetuates in the media is one of drug taking hedonism behaviours from young people. The article concludes by implying that drug use is rampant, that young people who attend are subhuman and any research at music festivals and their findings, meaningless. It is an enlightening insight into the way that this author perceives research at music festivals but also poses a worrying issue; if research of this kind is not challenged then the covert collection of data can take place without consideration of how it could be used against festival goers, young people or other groups. It is state sponsored security research that is generating data, information and knowledge that could be used against young people, in instances in the future similar to the 2010 student protest or the occupy movement. As the MOD research has not been published, it can only be hypothesised what

has been elicited and collected from music festivals. The securitisation of festival spaces is extensive and continues to be a growing area: wristbands are becoming digitalised with barcodes full of private data, and drone technology is becoming rampant. Further research is needed in this area because of the increasing technological use of tracking and surveillance in festival spaces. The implications this has on individual rights, personal freedoms and wider surveillance of society are worrying for a researcher concerned about the rights and empowerment of young people. It is worth briefly mentioning because it prompted an interesting response from the UK media highlighting a discourse that is held by wider society about the space; how it is one dimensional, unworthy of research and hedonistic.

This festival research challenges negative, superficial perceptions of young people by showing, through empirical data, that research into festivals is meaningful and that the space holds important insights about young people, their uses of space and senses of belonging. It presents alternative images of young people informed by their data, voices and contributions to counteract negative stereotyping and to reimagine festivals. Mainstream media representations of music festivals, in newspaper articles, have tended to demonise young people, and the above examples demonstrate this. While such reporting is not an academic critique of research into music festivals, such a media portrayal does provide an insight into the perception of music festivals amongst wider society, one that sees festivals as not being academically relevant or socially valuable. There is a lack of more balanced media reporting about UK music festivals, an important consideration as the media plays an important role in the construction of collective memory (Halbwachs 1992) and the development of moral panics (Cohen 2002).

2.2.3 The Presentation of Young People at Music Festivals

There have been several reality television shows set at music festivals, along with a stream of newspaper reports each year relating to festival spaces. An illustration of reality

television in music festivals is the BBC 3 programme (2014) *Festivals, Sex, and Suspicious Parents.* The BBC recognised the popularity of festivals and combined them with reality T.V, producing a series designed to follow young people around for the weekend at a music festival. The show reveals young people who are 'booze-fuelled partying away from their parents. There are arguments, vomiting and public urination from the kids' (BBC3 2014). This statement creates an image in the viewer's mind of a space which is unlawful, void of normal behaviour and rather disgusting. It also classifies those attending as 'kids' already demeaning the position of those that visit music festivals as children rather than teenagers or young people implying that they are behaving childishly. The purpose of the show is to film the young, overtly and covertly, and show this footage to their parents to critique their behaviours. The footage focusses on the worst kinds of behaviour and shows only the shocking, crude or dirty aspects of music festivals. The purpose and motivations behind the series are to shock viewers, building on a stereotype that young people act badly at music festivals and do not engage in positive or useful ways with the space or one another.

Returning to print media we see the pattern, stereotypes and narratives are repeating, initially, in the run-up to the festival season, there are a series of top ten festivals countdowns; top things to take to festivals, festival fashion (Jones et al. 2007[17]). Festival newspaper articles are light reading, generic and offer a broad overview of the popular festivals and trends. This coverage shifts midseason and focuses on the negative behaviour reported at festivals (Farmer 2015[18]) creating a negative festival discourse, firstly by minimising and belittling music festivals by reporting on trends and superficial elements of festivals and second, by constructing a deviant narrative of danger, criminal behaviour, drug taking, drinking and death. The newspapers sensationalise the minority of drug events that take place each year in the space. The majority of those attending festivals behave

[17] Available at: https://www.timeout.com/london/music/festivals
[18] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/11792621/Teen-who-nearly-died-taking-drugs-at-music-festival-releases-coma-photo-as-warning.html

appropriately and lawfully. Newspapers, left, centre and right wing exemplifies the negative representation of young people sensationalising their behaviour, an image that is reinforced through television programs. The media plays an integral role in the way that society constructs meaning and knowledge about groups of people and events, representation interacts on multiple levels; policy, societal, local, community and at the micro/individual. It constructs the way society perceives young people at music festivals. An image that does not enable or empower young people, rather it considers their actions as negative, superficial and harmful.

Halbwach's concept of collective memory (1950) highlights how space is an important factor in constructing representations, and how this, in turn, can shape communal memory. His work also acknowledges that representations can change, by being informed by new images and narratives of young people at festivals stereotypes can be altered:

> Thus, we understand why spatial images play so important a role in the collective memory. The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will. No image of a blackboard can recall what was once written there. The board could not care less what has been written on it before, and new figures may be freely added (Halbwachs 1992:2).

Collective memory is inherently biased informed as it is by subjective images and representations in the media. Media discourse about music festivals imprints in to collective memory, it becomes embedded and entrenched into the collective understanding of the space and young people who attend. The media representations this chapter has explored so far, festivals as dangerous spaces and young people as superficial, have become entrenched in the public imagination at a societal or meso level. Once embedded through repetition in the media these images do not unstick easily. The blackboard is not wiped clean and without alternative images to challenge media discourses the reality for many

people is that festivals are dangerous and un-beneficial for young people or society at large. A contemporary event that entrenched negative ideas of youth into collective memory was the 2011 riots, as Halbwachs states ‘a truly major event always results in an alteration of the relationship of the group to place’ (Halbwachs 1992:2), the riots, through media narratives, imprinted into collective memory that young people in a group, crowd or in large numbers are dangerous. Rioting was widespread enhancing the effect on collective memory, they were a national phenomena, not only local events therefore, they embedded and entrenched negative images of young people and impacted how wider society viewed young people (Stott and Reicher 2011; Briggs 2012). The presentation of young people as unproductive, disruptive and potentially dangerous was entrenched after the events of the riots. It was not a ‘youth riot’, but young people were branded, in the press, in parliament and in the collective memory as dangerous. Prime Minister David Cameron at a statement to parliament said: ‘The young people stealing flat screen televisions and burning shops that was not about politics or protest, it was about theft’ (BBC 2011[19]). While the media started labelling those involved as a ‘feral underclass’ (Lewis et al. 2011). This created a distance between young people and wider society. It de-humanised and delegitimised young people’s anger and ‘othered’ (Said 1978) them. Although only a small percentage of young people were involved in the riots the damage had been done on the collective memory of the country. Young people were again perceived as inactive citizens at the least and at the most dangerous, criminal and violent.

2.2.4 Scholarly Perceptions of Young People and Festivals

Unlike the one-dimensional media representations of festival spaces, academic literature grapples with festivals and young people in different cross-disciplinary ways. In the field of medicine and well-being, there have been studies investigating young people's illicit

[19] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-14492789

activities in festival spaces, focusing largely on illegal drug use. Lim et al. (2008) and (2010), compares different types of illegal substance use and musical tastes. Literature has linked youth 'scenes' and drugs, Moore et al. (2010) for example, established a link between mephedrone and EDMC (electronic dance music culture) but research has not substantiated a link between specific drugs and music taste in a festival context. This may be because festival scenes are more fluid than club scenes; a freer movement of people, a wider music genre and larger diversity of music. Illuminating drug connections with youth spaces and scenes is important to challenge perceptions of recreational drug use and drug takers, compared to ‘hard drug takers or addicts. Establishing drug links and music also encourages harm reduction by having a clearer picture of what ‘risk’ behaviours young people are doing. Continuing in the field of medical research, the provision of welfare at festivals has been explored to understand how to mitigate risk and improve health and safety measures at festivals (Chapman et al. 1982). In travel and tourism research there has been a focus in the last decade on young people outside of the UK exploring hedonistic behaviour and party tourism in Ibiza (Bellis et al. 2004; Uriely et al. 2006) while Winstock et al. (2001) focussed on drinking, drug taking and the sexual activities of young people. Research has primarily been mixed methods and has focussed on the discourses that have been highlighted earlier in this chapter; drug use, drinking and hedonistic activities and how to tackle or mitigate these behaviours.

It is important to note the literature regarding the motivations of young people who attend music festivals, Gelder and Robinson (2009) focus on the reasons why young people attend music festivals, comparing Glastonbury festival V festival. Importantly the study has drawn out that the main motivation for attending Glastonbury was the social aspects of the festival, while they found that people at V primarily went for the music. The Gelder and Robinson (2009) study is framed by discourses of event management studies, motivations are explored to improve the understandings of festival management and event organisers. Analysis identified remarks that hint at alternative considerations of space and

time, temporality and alternative mind sets but these were considered escapism rather than an articulation of creative practice. They are understanding responses about the space in relation to young people's relationship with the outside, rather than seeing them as independent desires for change. Academic literature that focuses on music festivals, much like the grey literature, centres on the negative attributes and behaviour at festivals. To engage with literature that explores the positive way young people are interacting and socialising this work draws on literature about young people in other music spaces - in electronic dance music culture (EDMC), punk scenes and the night time economy (NTE). As these spaces have conceptualised the impact of music spaces on young people beyond the event itself.

Research relating to young people, their leisure activities, the way they use space and the groups they create has predominantly focussed on young people in urban spaces. To some extent this is a by-product of the Chicago School and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Hall 1979) both of which focused their research on young people in urban space. Much empirical work on young people has built on these foundations and focused on young people in urban contexts, often with reference to deviance and crime. Far less research has considered how young people use, explore and socialise in rural settings. Therefore, the academic representation of young people is embedded in urban behaviour, styles, language and culture. The space that young people are situated has a significant impact on their actions, behaviours and emotions. Urban areas have a specific set of characteristics which influence how young people experience space. Therefore, youth research has tended to conceptualise and theorise about youth in the city, influenced by urban spatial and social politics that are fundamentally different than youth experiences in rural areas. Consequently, the representation and portrayal of young people is framed through an urban lens, which fails to adequately reflect the social processes that take place in music festivals. Feminist approaches in the social sciences have addressed the issue of rural youth by uncovering and highlighting the issues that young people face in rural areas,

particularly in relation to rural poverty (Duncan 1996), social exclusion (Shucksmith 2004) and drinking cultures (Valentine et al. 2008). Although feminist theorists have articulated the lives of young people in rural areas successfully in recent years, music festivals are a spatial anomaly. They neither fit into an urban nor a rural setting but absorb elements of both; the securitisation, infrastructure, services and lighting of an urban setting located in a field in remote rural areas. Music festivals incorporate many features and elements of rural spaces, especially those associated with nature, as chapter five and seven will discuss, while simultaneously absorbing and containing an infrastructure that is as complex as any cities.

Media perceptions can close and essentialise debates about music festivals and limit the potential for meaningful research to take place. If the space is considered superficial, or as a site to explore youth behaviour in relation to drink and drugs, research opportunities are lost to explore the creative nature of music festivals. The way that young people are presented in the media continues a discourse and culture that is disingenuous and disempowers young people, limiting the opportunity for their positive social practice and change to be acknowledged or valued. This section has looked specifically at how music festivals have been portrayed in the media and researched as a case study, or as a focus in a range of academic disciplines. It now moves on to explore the small amount of quantitative, empirical studies conducted at festivals; the UK Festival Association Report 2016 and 2017 and broadens the discussion by drawing on spatial and social theory that conceptualises young people's leisure experiences in alternative ways, challenging the presentation and discourses prevalent in the media.

2.3 New Narratives and Theories of Space.

Now that I have summarised the dominant narratives about music festivals it is possible to frame a more holistic counter position. I will draw on empirical reports and research into

music festivals to develop a more realistic and evidence-based picture. Dominant representations of youth at music festivals are largely influenced by public discourses that tend to vilify festivals and their participants. This counter narrative and proposition draws on the limited empirical evidence that there is about music festivals in the UK and academic spatial and social theory. The counter narrative broadens music festivals beyond the confines of the way they are presented and stereotyped by the media. It does this by framing positive practices in relation to spatial theory that contextualises music festivals as spaces with a longer history and deeper social value than is presented in the first half of this chapter.

To gain a deeper understanding of music festivals today, we need to look to a small body of literature based on the economics and social demographics of people at music festivals. The UK Festival Association (UKFA 2017) report provides a statistical breakdown of music festival attendees. To uncover the representative picture of young people in music festivals I examined the 2016-2017 UKFA Market Report, this concerns research undertaken in 2015 and 2016 with the reports appearing twelve months following the data collection. In 2015 18 – 30-year olds at festivals made up 52.1% of the total rising to 59.6% when considering up to the age of 34 years old, this was the largest demographic group. In 2016 the largest age range at 29.2 % are aged between 21 – 25. Overall the 18 – 30-year olds made up the largest percentage with 61.8% of the population at a music festival, rising to 76.3 % if you include those up to the age of 34 years old. Demonstrating that music festivals, are indeed ‘youth’ spaces.

With 18 – 30-year-olds making up much of population at music festivals the spatial and social dynamics are altered and embody different characteristics to outside the space. Festival society has a fundamentally different makeup and demographic than regular society. As this chapter will explore, space is socially produced (Lefebvre 1991) and by numbers music festivals are a space that there is a greater visibility of young people, the demographic make-up enables and encourages young people to feel empowered. It is a

space they are a majority which has a positive effect on the way they consider their position within the space. Both the UKFA 2016 and 2017 studies show statistically that young people, aged between 18 – 35 years make up the largest age group at music festivals, supporting this study's focus on 18 - 35-year olds and showing how it was appropriate to explore it as a space of youth engagement.

In 2015, 39.1 % people at music festivals admitted to using illegal drugs, this had dropped by 2016 to 18.2% (UKFA 2017 Report). The UKFA statistics on drugs paint a different picture than the one portrayed by the media. As the chapter previously discussed, much of the media coverage concerning festivals focuses on drug use amongst young people, this is also mirrored in academic literature, which again, has a high focus on drug use and drug taking behaviour amongst young people. The 2015 statistic of 39.1% seems to be out of the norm when compared with other sources. Indicating a spike in 2015 decreasing to 18.2 % the following year, Jones et al concluded in his articles for *Time Out London* that only 22 % (Jones et al. 2015) of people at music festivals admitted to taking illegal drugs, supporting the findings of the UKFA 2017 report. Therefore, if we were to concentrate on the reports rather than the public discourse about drug taking behaviour, we would see that only one or two people out of ten are taking illegal drugs in music festivals and of this number we cannot assume that it is only young people as there are no variables to determine the age of those respondents. If we rely only on the media representation of music festivals and the behaviour of young people within them, we get a distorted picture. Once we start to explore the data coming out of music festivals, the nuances can be seen, and stereotypes challenged. To deepen and unpack what is really going on at music festivals, and to understand if they are not just drug filled, unruly and hedonistic play spaces, alternative theoretical concepts need consideration. Such concepts do not necessarily relate directly to music festivals, but can shine light onto the social, spiritual and transformative practices that may take place in youth occupied space.

2.3.1 Festival Theory: Festivalesque

Bakhtin's concept of carnivalesque (1965) helps to situate music festivals in their wider historical context. Within the context of my own research I have re-phrased this term as the festivalesque. One important aspect of Bakhtin's analysis was the identification of a subtext concept called the 'Carnivalesque', a time when social norms and dominant behaviour can be subverted. Social norms are converted by out of the ordinary behaviour and an atmosphere of chaos. Bakhtin argues that it is not just norms that are overthrown but social hierarchies and social etiquettes are also put aside. Normal routines are altered, carnival '(madness) permits the world to abandon its official routine and to join the hero's carnivalesque fancies' (1965:128). In a music festival there is a process of confused time, many routines become dropped, changed, or sped up due to intoxication. During my fieldwork, young people referred to losing time in this respect, discussed in further detail in chapter five. Carnivalesque is a political construction of space, it encompasses an overthrowing of the dominant social order and routine to enable suppressed voices to be heard. Bakhtin deconstructed the concept of carnival and drew out how participants have greater agency in the space. The empowerment elements of the carnival that Bakhtin comments on sheds light on the behaviour of young people at festivals and facilitates an examination of the ways that the space encourages empowerment and agency. One element of the carnivalesque that differs from the outside is carnival language, it illustrates how actions and universal understandings are altered in the space;

> speech forms, liberated from norms, hierarchies, and prohibitions of established idiom, become themselves a peculiar argot and create a special collectivity, a group of people initiated in familiar intercourse, who are frank and free in expressing themselves verbally. The marketplace crowd was such a collectivity, especially the festive, carnivalesque crowd at the fair. The character of the elements capable of transforming a language and of creating a free collectivity of familiar intercourse

(1965:188).

Bakhtin's work highlights how the shared use of language cements sociality within temporal carnival communities, showing how carnival has roots in earlier spaces, times and in concepts of freedom. As Bakhtin notes travelling fairs and Venetian carnivals offer us historical examples of processes of subversion, the realignment of structures and behaviour which continue to be echoed today in a festival context. Carnivals served a historical purpose; they were a necessary 'outburst' of social anarchy and gave the oppressed a means of expression. Music festivals have their roots in these alternative social outbursts, they are contemporary pockets of subversion. It is important to note that music festivals also have a unique history linked with New Age Travellers and particularly the Peace Convoy of the 1970's and 1980's. Therefore, the space combines counter cultural politics alongside a moment of temporal chaos creating space for an inherently political, subversive type of social interaction, as Bakhtin illustrates:

> One might say that carnival celebrates temporary liberation from the prevailing truth of the established order; it marks the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalized and complete (Bakhtin 1965:109).

Bakhtin conceptualises the carnival as the true feast of time, demonstrating the relationship between the construction of time and those taking part in the event. The carnival is a time of change and renewal which transcends the event and continues outside of carnival, an important characteristic that academic research has not explored fully, as noted in 2.2.4. Carnivalesque can help us to consider the possibility that festival space carries a deeper social meaning beyond the temporal event itself and into wider society. The carnival is a

useful concept when conceptualising festivals in a historical context, as a new form of socially and spatially subverted space. Elements drawn out by Bakhtin (1965) have resonance to the modern music festival, language and the body as a site of resistance are critiqued as evidence for the festivalesque. The festival, like the carnival did in the past, embodies subversive practices and creates new ways of being, socialising and experiencing space as Bakhtin pointed out, the carnival:

> acquired a new meaning, absorbed the new hopes and thoughts of the people. It was transformed in the crucible of the people's new experience. The language of images developed new and more refined nuances (Bakhtin 1965:211).

To understand how the space is absorbing new social meanings and how new forms, thoughts and experiences are created, constructed and re-constructed the next part of this chapter will consider the social production of space and place.

2.3.2 Social Production of Festival space

The Carnivalesque helps us to understand music festivals in a more holistic way. However, the lived experience of festival-goers is missing, there are no voices from carnival in Bakhtin's 1965 work *Rebelias and his World*. Bakhtin was involved in a literary critique, removed from the lived experiences of those at the carnival and in the space. The impact and effect of the attendees of the carnival on the space, the interactions between the meso and the macro, are useful to understand how the festival is constructed. Therefore, a wider concept of the space and the interactions between the social and spatial, how they co-construct one another, is considered by drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre, and the social production of space to fill this theoretical gap. Lefebvre (1991) argues that space is socially produced and therefore inherently political. His work helps to contextualise the way young people, consciously or unconsciously, construct their own spaces and enact a

politics of resistance within the music festival. For Lefebvre the social construction of space, ‘goes beyond politics, inasmuch as it presupposes a critical analysis of all spatial politics in general (Lefebvre 1991:59). Space is inherently political, and the community that forms within a specific space constructs and is shaped by social processes. While considering space Lefebvre analyses different forms of social construction and modes of production. One important form of production is governed by a spatial code, which is created through language and unifies its inhabitants. Spatial codes are reproduced through repetition and their true meanings are only understood through participation by means of a shared language. The concept of shared language and the way it entrenches meaning and solidarity is central to my argument and connects Bakhtin’s work with that of Lefebvre’s. It is a process that produces and creates space through shared meanings and understandings constructed by young people. Within abstract space the spatial code can break down barriers between levels, between the public and private, micro and macro, by bringing levels together. By subverting these hierarchies and breaking down these barriers, new social meanings are produced. Festivals blur and renegotiate levels and therefore break power relationships between them. The code forms links between what was considerate separate realms, shared rituals and language creates unity and through this unity dominant power structures are challenged, ‘the code might be said to contribute to the reversal of the dominant tendency’ (Lefebrvre 1991:64).

The impression of the festival, reflects what Lefebvre calls ‘perceived space’, the first of the interrelated three phases of space; perceived, conceived and lived. Lefebvre’s representations of space started with the perceived, ‘the practical basis of the perception of the outside world’ (Lefebvre 1991:40). For a festival perceived space is the fences, the physical setting and security. These elements or ‘architectures’ give the sense of an impenetrable space that is rooted in a particular landscape and time. Narrative mapping uncovers a more porous, produced space, what Lefebvre calls ‘representational’ space, that extends beyond the space and time of the festival. It is ‘the space of 'inhabitants' and

'users' (Lefebvre 1991:39). Unlike perceived space, representational space acknowledges the potential and agency of people in the space. Hope, imagination and potential are understood to be produces of space, ‘imagination seeks to change and appropriate. ‘It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects’ (1991:41). Representational space conceptualises how participants alter, change and construct space through actions. Importantly it is also a space of energy and agency, representational space:

> is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre [….] It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time. Consequently it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic (Lefebvre 1991:41).

The festival incorporates Lefebvre’s triad of space, each element informing the other. Perceived space informs the representational, and as the quote above shows, the representational is created through lived experiences. Broadening Bakhtin’s conceptualisation of space and extending the understanding of festival spaces to recognise how space it is co-constructed with and by those that are active in it. Carnivalesque conceptualises the subversive effects of the space on people, while Lefebvre’s ideas of space enable interacting space, socially produced space, an acknowledgement of the relationship between space and society. One not being more influential than the other but a recognition of co-construction.

There is a longer lasting effect and mentality that transcends the festival time into young people’s everyday lives. Young people construct a space which is more porous than it first appears, while it transcends the time and space of the festival, young people are also subverting space whilst they are at the festival. Chapter five analyses the ways that young people break down the distance between levels, create and renegotiate abstract spaces

through social production; through shared practices in the space, socially and spatially reorganising the music festival. Other processes, concepts and agents are at work at music festivals, a prevailing one is embedded in anarchic motivations of subversion. Festivals embody elements of Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ) (Bey 1991), outbursts of anarchic resistance in temporary spaces. To understand the political nature of festival spaces in more detail it is important to engage with TAZ literature to recognise temporal spaces as legitimate exercises and articulations from young people seeking to alter space.

2.3.3 Temporal Autonomous Zone (TAZ)

> A TAZ is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it (Bey 1991:128).

TAZ are spaces that form to challenge and subvert social, political and cultural power. They are products of disenfranchisement in wider society and are outlined in the anarchist poetry of Hakim Bey (1991). The Burning Man Festival in the U.S.A is a product of TAZ thinking. The Cacophony Society, a spiritual anarchic movement put into practice the philosophy of TAZ. One its founders created Burning Man festival to directly action the principles and politics of a TAZ. TAZ philosophy argues that creativity can be a form resistance against oppressive societal structures and reconceptualises how the space and its participants are engaged in a creative practice of renegotiating and subverting power relations. TAZ set out examples of temporal autonomous zones; pirate utopias, the internet, and suggests that the most effective way to create change is through non- hierarchical systems, much like Lefebvre's abstract space. TAZ also highlight the significance of temporal spaces for agency and action, it demands that participants live in the present and in doing so, shed

off the routine and normal social and cultural norms embedded in this routine. This then enables for new creative elements and practices to occur. Music festivals completely renegotiate routine, an important element and source for social and spatial change. Chapter five discusses the temporary attributes of music festivals and hypothesises that these exemplify the features of a TAZ. Music festivals embody the principles of TAZ, creating a unique space that facilitates counter cultural, political agency and identity amongst young people.

Temporality is an important aspect of music festivals as it has an impact on the lived experience of young people; how they experience time, how they construct meaning and how the space, by being outside of routines of time, enables for alternative thinking. The next theoretical concept that continues the theme of time, temporality and space is liminality. TAZ are social and physical spaces, whilst liminality and liminal places are the spiritual spaces created through ritual. Liminality is a useful concept to pull music festival theory beyond physical space theory and into a wider conversation about their spiritual attributes.

2.3.4 Liminality

The concept of liminality (Turner 1969) can help us to understand how a shared purpose, shared experiences and rituals at music festivals create communitas between young people. Although predominantly related to spiritual meaning making, and therefore discussed in chapter seven, liminality is a concept that also sheds light on solidarity and community formation. Communitas refers to the non-hierarchical and egalitarian community that people forge within liminal spaces. One defining feature of liminal communitas is its unstructured nature which correlates to festival communities and the types of solidarity that exist within them. Coleman (2002) explored communitas in relation to pilgrimage. The pilgrim community is characterised in oppositional and, arguably binary, terms by ‘presenting individual versus society, free choice versus obligation, communitas

versus structure' (Coleman 2002:356). Communitas is created in exceptional situations but, arguably idealises notions of community. The perfect or utopian society is a philosophical aspiration and not grounded in empirical fact. This research uses empirical work to illustrate how communities are aspirational and empirically present at music festivals. Festivals are a creative process of community making. I suggest that festival spaces are liminal spaces that have the potential to create utopian communities through their alignment of a physical, third, temporal, liminal and autonomous space. As Coleman describes:

> the necessary empty space is produced by stripping off identity, which results in communitas– ideally a state of unmediated and egalitarian association among individuals who are temporarily set free from hierarchical roles (Coleman 2002: 361).

The assertion of the importance of freedom runs through this thesis. Solidarity between and amongst young people can only be forged once they are free from social and cultural norms. The creation of communitas depends on the stripping away of old ideas about identity. The removal of old models of identity does not happen at music festivals, but the freedom of the festival does provide an opportunity to explore new ways of being and thinking about oneself. The festival context facilitates the shedding of inhibiting factors such as social and cultural expectations. This liminal space fosters the creation of new identities, which will be explored in chapter eight. For liminal space to occur there needs to be an egalitarian association among people, this will be interrogated in chapter five in relation to shared experiences which create an equal social landscape and shared narratives amongst young people. Lastly, a requirement of liminality is temporality and a lack of hierarchical roles, a concept shared amongst the theoretical backdrop to this study. The spiritually creative potential of liminal spaces, when combined with the politics and purpose of TAZ, suggests festivals are operating to articulate and create an alternative, third space. A space of new thoughts, ways of being, interactions and behaviour based on new

relationships with space and new forms of solidarity. Such temporality is a key characteristic of music festivals, which enables the landscape to be transformed into liminal space. Therefore, solidarity and community within the music festival context represents a form of communitas.

So far, this chapter has explored the key theoretical understandings of space that enable the re-negotiation and the construction of new forms of power and agency. Festival spaces are informed by liminality, they are representative of a space of temporality but also deep transformation and celebration. Spaces that young people throw off ideas of self. They are moments to shed old selves that are informed and shaped by social and cultural norms and enable young people to experiment and embody new forms, new selves and identities and as chapter seven evaluates new ideas of spirituality.

This chapter has discussed liminality and communitas. However, a discussion of liminal spaces more generally needs to be taken into account to conceptualise young people's constructions of festival spirituality. Liminal spaces are in between spaces, sharing aspects of temporal space theory but with a spiritual element. They are spaces of transition and change that facilitate spirituality by being between and beyond normal constraints of space. Turner noted in the late 1960's the term to understand identity within spiritual practices and its parallel development alongside the counter cultural politics of the 1960's and 1970's. Liminality refers to moments that are characterised by the throwing off old senses of self and identity and the creation of new forms of self-expression. Like Bakhtin's carnival, liminal spaces represent spaces of transgression where social norms are subverted, suspended and disrupted but liminality adds the element of transformation (Sheilds 1990). Liminality has been used to explore the night time economy (Hobbs et al. 2000) but there is little applied research elsewhere and beyond Turner's theoretical considerations of liminal space (1969). Liminal spaces illuminate the way in which space constructs social and spiritual processes, liminal spaces exist in a moment when hierarches and structures are dismantled. Providing a gap, a moment of reflection, and although one

of these structures cannot be argued is religion, as the UK is in the mainstream a secular society, the disruption that liminality brings, its 'in between' state encourages a rejection of old ways of thinking and encourages young people to play with new ideas of spirituality. This work shows how this can, and has, emerged at festivals. To understand why subversive spaces, outbursts and moments occur, the external societal and cultural power dynamics that exist outside of music festivals need unpacking. To explore these dynamics more fully I now turn to Weber (1924) whose work helps us to identify the unseen, and detrimental, position that young people are situated in wider society and the structures that inhibit young people's agency.

2.4 Space and Power

Music festivals enable the development of alternative forms of power and agency amongst young people through the social spatial processes taking place in this unique space. Weber's (1924) work situates young people's position in wider society, and although dated, still informs how hegemonic and oppressive structures inform agency and can be used to expand the understanding of the ways music festivals enable the renegotiation of power relations. *The City* (Weber 1924) explored how the position an individual occupies plays a key role in defining their sense of agency and their ability to effect change. As discussed, young festival goers are entrenched in media discourse that diminish and devalue their activities, therefore influencing and effecting their sense of agency. Weber (1924) examined how the interactions between people within a contained space constructs and reconstructs communities. An important aspect of my empirically based argument about the representation of young people is that music festivals enable a renegotiation of power. It is therefore necessary to explore the relationship that young people have with the state and to compare this with their experience of music festivals. Weber marked this relationship, between young people and the state, as one that is embedded within larger

narratives and power structures that impact on the individuals lived experience. While his work dates from almost a century ago and is rarely considered in relation to music festivals his analysis is important as it informs the critical theoretical approach which guides my research. Furthermore, Weber's emphasis on the micro level of analysis has helped conceptualise young people in music festivals and the ways their sense of solidarity, spirituality and self highlight wider social processes that can impact larger macro and meso levels. Weber (1924) identified the city as an important driver for social action, one characteristic of the city was that the urban environment altered social relations as it forces people to live near one another. In chapter five, I return to this point to explain the way that tent living and living in close proximity enables positive social processes amongst young people. Weber's ideas help us understand how festival communities are created and shaped in an alternative space, informed by critical understandings of space and of society.

Sue Ruddick (1995) illustrates how punks in the city reclaimed space in Los Angeles through squatting, her work highlights how living in close proximity and having a shared ethos creates communities with strong bonds. It also foregrounds the ways that living with one another can be political, counter cultural and effect change. Squatting literature (Hodkinson et al. 2006; Mikkelssen et al. 2001) supports the concept that living near one another, communally, can break down social hierarchies and reconfigure social relations in new alternative forms. There is an underlying, anarchic thread that runs through my research both spatially and socially. Spatially I draw on festivals as TAZ as exemplars of resistance and of reclaiming, claiming and creating space. Young people at music festivals reaffirm new communal norms and behaviour, constructing a strong set of identity markers and values. Aitkin (2001) argues that this illustrates not only cultural and social capital amongst young people but 'links their actions to larger global processes' (2001:159). Emphasising the importance of the micro level of analysis to understand larger social processes, Aitkin argues that young people's social and cultural capital are overlooked because of wider social structures and perceptions of youth.

As this chapter has explored, the research conducted on music festivals provides a shallow representation of the space and what it means for young people. It is by exploring the space using anarchic, critical, cultural spatial theories that the contribution of the space and the young people within it can be broadened, deepened and acknowledged. By acknowledging the transformative potential of festival spaces and identifying the way young people are contributing and creating it, I reconceptualise and reframe festival space and the young people who attend to show how they consciously create affirming counter-cultural social spaces. Music festivals exemplify the types of society that young people want to be part of, this alternative society is characterised by the creation of new forms of solidarity which emerge through specific spatial practices at music festivals.

2.5 Solidarity

Liquid modernity, neo-tribalism and most recently the works of post-subcultural theorists, alongside communitas, present a picture of youth communities that are fluid, separate but unified in nature. To illustrate what this looks like empirically chapter six will analyse festival families and consider the forms of solidarity that are created at festivals and the longer-term narratives that continue beyond it. The way in which communitas transcends the festival correlates with Lefebvre's (1991) concept of representational space, 'This transformation of acceptance/ inner peace is a lasting effect that carries from the rave communitas back into the external social world (Coleman 2002:655). Communitas pins down the transcendental processes of sociality that can go beyond the spatial realms and time of the festival and into wider abstract spaces. The forms of solidarity and community created at music festivals are best framed by Bauman's (2000) concept of liquid modernity, which helps re-frame the discussions and contextualise solidarity. This section demonstrates how the perception of young people can be challenged by understanding how they form communities, groups, tribes and scenes. It will draw on concepts of everyday

politics and sub-conscious acts of resistance (De Certeau 1984), subcultural theory and neo-tribalism (Maffesoli 1995).

2.5.1 Liquid Modernity

In *Liquid Modernity* Bauman (2000) reconceptualised late modernity, critiquing his own earlier postmodern thinking and developed a more nuanced and fluid understanding of social relations. He suggests that, 'liquids, unlike solids, cannot easily hold their shape. Fluids, so to speak, neither fix space nor bind time' (2000:2). Bauman introduced the concept that time is a key factor in the ways that communities are conceptualised, thereby lending strength to the construction of music festival communities as non-fixed and temporal. Bauman notes that fluids do not keep to any shape for long and are 'constantly ready (and prone) to change it; and so, for them it is the flow of time that counts, more than the space they happen to occupy: that space, after all, they fill but 'for a moment' (2000:2). Within a music festival, time becomes very important, it is no longer constructed around routine activities, time is disrupted. Once such suspension takes place, new ideas and concepts of time emerge and influence behaviour. Bauman's suggestion that time is as important as space is useful when thinking about the activities that take place in music festivals, and their impact on understandings of the self and identity. Bauman's thinking implies that the social world has moved beyond more solid forms of modernity into a new ways of knowing and understanding society. The only certainty is uncertainty and liquid modernity highlights that with the rise of individualism, feelings of insecurity and precariousness, comes increased levels of apathy. I suggest that apathy is not the key feature of new liquid communities as an examination of neo-tribalism will challenge. One key aspect of liquid modernity is that it nuanced the understanding of identities; people are moving (like liquid) more freely between identities and groups. This individual fluidity influences the types of communities they create. Temporality is key, liquid modernity is inherently a temporal process, existing in protest to the outside:

> Explosive communities are events breaking the monotony of daily solitude, and like all carnival events they let off the pent-up steam and allow the revellers better to endure the routine to which they must return the moment the frolicking is over (Bauman 2000:201).

The concept of liquid modernity helps us to understand the breakdown of institutions in the face of an increasingly fluid society, much like Bakhtin's carnival and TAZ, highlighting the contemporary search for new forms of stability. Bauman conceptualises people within this new terrain as pilgrims, searching but never finding and as nomads who flit between social circles, economic paths, relationships and values. The concept of pilgrims is a theme that emerged from young people at music festivals and will be explored with reference to festival spiritualities in chapter seven. Bauman describes these new forms of communities as carnival communities; 'Carnival communities' seems to be another fitting name for the communities under discussion. Such communities, after all, offer temporary respite from the agonies of daily solitary struggles' (2000:200). Although the temporal and fluid nature of the 'carnival communities' fits into the way young people are socialising at music festivals, the concept does not conceptualise the value that these forms create. As I demonstrate, below neo-tribalism offers us a more convincing analysis of fluid festival communities. The metaphor of the 'carnival communities' (Bauman 2000:200) considers the carnival to be one-dimensional and does not acknowledge that those involved in its community have any deeper or stronger bonds that transcend the event, spectacle, carnival, festival or encounter ending. Bauman defines the participants as 'nomadic' (2000:200), this interesting analogy effectively points towards spiritual ideas, as well as New Age philosophies. It is also implied that those within carnival groups do not have a settled conceptualisation of belonging or that this identity form has the potential to transcend the time of the festival. A final critique of Bauman's concept of liquid modernity

is the oppositional depiction of ‘carnival communities’ as problematic. For him they are defined by their antagonistic nature towards normal society; however, this work will show that the new forms of community being created within music festivals are not just reactionary outbursts against the status quo but expressions of creative practice. They act as resistance to the negative representations that exists in wider society.

Liquid modernity fails to acknowledge the positive motivations that young people have for creating solidarity at festivals and focusses on how they are communities resisting an ‘other’, rather than, being an alternative positive creation of community. A combination of a community that is created in resistance to the dominant hegemonic society, but also one which has creativity at its heart is a more accurate theoretical understanding of the communities that young people are creating at music festivals. Liquid Modernity is also intrinsically individualistic, through empirical data and by drawing on neo-tribalism this work evaluates how festival communities are not demonstrating individualism, but a desire for reconnection. Although I have been critical of Bauman’s concept of community, his reconceptualisation represents a marked move forward in the ways we understand community, a move away from ‘community’ as a static concept, one in which we construct identity and belonging for being insiders, to one that acknowledges that they are unfixed, fluid, moving and constantly changing. Although carnival is Bauman’s extreme example of a liquid community, it serves to illustrate how carnival, and by extension music festivals, are melting pots for this form of fluid community.

By utilising Bauman’s ideas about liquid modernity this work frames how society has changed and how young people are forming more fluid, liquid relationships and groupings. My own research shows that festival communities are more in tune with how young people wish to live and experience community. They are not merely temporary but enable greater agency and active participation than Bauman recognises. Festival groupings are a new, contemporary illustration of liquid modernity, while simultaneously being a very old social form created in opposition to an individualised society, to illustrate this chapter five draws

on further theories to explore how young people are making active choices about the kind of groupings they want to socialise in, as one young woman stated, festivals ‘Opens your eyes to community’ (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Shambala, 2015). They are spaces in which the idea of community is being played with by young people, they are carving out new forms of communities, tribes and groups that they want to be involved in. It is an active choice and one that is fundamentally created through a process of solidarity amongst individuals. To broaden liquid modernity and show the deeper agency and politics that are embedded within liquid communities, everyday politics is explored to reconceptualise how we understand politics and how we can identify political action, agency and power in youth spaces.

2.5.2 Resistance: Everyday Politics

The concept of everyday politics challenges prevailing understandings of what is considered political. This approach to political life argues that through the consumption of cultural practices marginal groups can re-negotiate power; ’The tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices’ (De Certeau 1984:8). Consumption is understood as the choices and decisions that young people make; the goods they buy, the festivals they choose to attend, the music they listen to and the multitude of small ways they decide to invest their time, money or energy. Through young people’s consumption of music festival spaces, they are engaged in counter cultural politics. The space embodies an oppositional identity, partly historically rooted but also socially produced, and by participating in festivals young people also co-construct them. Young people absorb and perpetuate the alternative energies and are active in the politics of the space. Consumption is an example of small politics; young people are not making large political statements by attending music festivals but are invested in a space that is oppositional, in its ethos, to the outside. They are choosing to engage in alternative spaces that enable them to renegotiate power and

agency, for young people who are demonised and marginalised in society, everyday politics articulates how they are resisting. As De Certeau (1984) points out '[m]arginality is today no longer limited to minority groups, but is rather massive and pervasive. . . A marginal group has now become a silent majority' (1984:6). Processes that disempower and disenfranchise young people have become so entrenched that they go unchallenged, as a result, young people remain one of the most disenfranchised groups in society, for instance young people are un-empowered by lack of opportunities; the inability to vote, lack of economic and social status compared to other age groups. Despite their negative presentation in the media, young people act out everyday politics through their participation in festival spaces. Everyday practices are political acts, even when those political practices are elusive and unknown to the ones asserting them. De Certau's, post-structural, broad and reimagined understanding of the ways everyday practices are political acknowledged the complexity of actions demonstrated by young people, it is particularly relevant in relation to festival spaces as it celebrates the creative nature of the political, highlighting the agency and resistance to oppressive structures young people show. Although festivals have become a normalised event for many, this work argues there are still political undertones in the behaviour of people attending, their motivations for going and the way in which they shed normalised identities in response to a festival one. When discussing German Raver's, Richards et al. (1998) highlights that:

> The fall of the Berlin Wall played an important part in its (techno music) development. In the following period of politically uncertainty, ravers were able to claim politically and commercially unmarked space for illegal raves
> (1998:165).

For German ravers the altered political climate in Germany influenced young people's desire to engage in rave spaces, knowingly or not, young people desired to be in a space

that provided them agency and a sense of belonging. Like demonisation, we see how societal tensions and instabilities can affect young people, not in a negative sense like the 'atmosphere of tension' explored by De Certeau (1984), but in a positive way by providing space they can claim ownership and participate in. The issue of physical space and how it facilitates and encourages alternative politics from young people, and how young people reclaim and create subversive spaces is widely explored within subcultural studies (Hall 1979; Thornton 1995; Muggleton 2000).

The subversion of the everyday in music festivals, which will have expanded on in chapter five, is a construct that has been explored in other music spaces. Richard's et al. (1998:170) comment on the obvious "pure escapism, not least because the rave event is the suspension of everyday rules". This suspension of the everyday, its practices and responsibilities is a theme that I have argued characterises music festivals. The rave and electronic music scenes have been an academic site to explore young people's everyday political practices, discussing electronic dance music (EDMC), Riley et al. argue how:

> [i]n employing a bottom up approach to political participation, [they] have identified a form of social participation and everyday politics enacted in leisure practices that orient around values of sociality, community and hedonism (2010:51).

It is the everyday politics that young people act out in social spaces that contribute to space becoming counter cultural. The elements of music festivals drawn out in this study are empirically grounded and examples of the bottom up ways young people assert counter narratives and agency, the ways they are acting out everyday politics. Riley et al. (2010) emphasise the importance for a shift in the way we see young people's participation and political actions, their research outlined the political expressions that youth constructed communities and activities present to counteract and challenge prevailing discourse about young people:

> The implications for engaging in this kind of 'everyday' politics include the ability to experience oneself as a valued member of a community and to explore, through community and hedonistic practices, alternate forms of subjectivity (Riley et al. 2010:51).

As De Certeau emphasises, ‘everyday practice, "ways of operating" or doing things, no longer appear as merely the obscure background of social activity,’ (1984:1) rather they illustrate political acts from young people reasserting power through their social and spatial activities in music spaces. It is through the recognition of young people's political activity that the conversation about young people will move to a more nuanced understanding of citizenship and politics. A discussion about how music festivals are therefore inherently political spaces will continue in the solidarity fieldwork chapter.

The conceptualisation of the political as ‘everyday actions’ begins to break down critique of subculture research as being centred on problematic groups within society. Subcultures will be expanded on in the next chapter; young people and identity. De Certeau's bottom up conceptualisation of the political suggests that politics is not necessarily hostile or highly visible. His work moves the debate beyond seeing political groups as working class, male or criminal to a wider conceptualisation that embraces small, everyday acts of politics. Festivals provide a space where young people choose to congregate and where they have free time, making them an ideal place to explore resistance reconceptualised in this way. The everyday politics echoes the foundations of Lefebvre’s social production of space and TAZ, they are spaces in which political agency is asserted in quiet and subversive ways:

> It is here, in this creation of space of their own, that we find resistance, not as a struggle with the dominant, hegemonic culture or even as the fact of clubbing itself,

> but resistance as located in the most minute [. . .] this is resistance on the micro-level, on the level of everyday life, where the unspoken binds the group together (Malbon 1998:280).

Everyday, individual and collective practices become political and through participation in small, everyday politics a counter political narrative is being constructed. Young people's everyday and leisure activities have a wider political impact, through the co-construction of space, as I demonstrate in chapter five, and through the ways they then inhabit a festival identity. Space creation, solidarity, spirituality and self are all inherently political actions from young people in music festivals and are telling of the wider political agency that young people are asserting, in their leisure spaces.

Malbon suggests that clubbers are resisting through practice, in ways that they may be unaware of at the micro level of the individual, but which may affect the meso level and the wider festival community. By being part of a wider group and creating collective identities young people are engaging in counter cultural politics, as Malbon points out; 'This is resistance found through losing yourself to find yourself' (Malbon 1998:280). Mimicking and connecting with liminality and the concept of stripping away old identities and constructing new ones, here Malbon is reiterating that losing, shedding and altering yourself is political, it is an act at the micro level which can influence the meso, macro and challenge larger oppressive social structures by providing a counter narrative of youth participation.

At this point it is important to note that festivals lend themselves to the formation of temporary forms of community, both in a physical sense of tent living and in a social sense, through the chaotic and sporadic friendships that are established. The 'everyday' nature of these forms of participation is explored in practice through everyday politics. De Certeau (1984) states that it is a necessity to identify the small ways that politics are embodied to resist and counteract oppressive structures:

> Popular procedures (also 'miniscule' and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them (De Certeau 1984:5).

De Certeau uses the examples of talking, shopping, moving about and other 'ways of operating' as ‘victories of the weak over the strong’ and describes how processes of joking about, tricks and knowing how to get away with things are the tools which people use to subvert power (1984:9). It is through these small acts that young people are asserting power in a space that enables them and encourages them to act outside of social and cultural norms that are formulated in outside society. Everyday practices include those that form and create communities and groups, to understand the types of communities that young people are forming at festivals this chapter will now discuss the role of neo-tribalism.

2.5.3 Neo-tribal Communities

Modernity does not necessarily lead to the rise of individualism (Maffesoli 1995; Bauman 2000) but can instead enable neo-tribalism, the natural way social beings are meant to exist, in tribes rather than and, opposed to mass society. Neo-tribalism addresses and critiques the view that liquid and fluid societies are inherently individualistic. Music festivals demonstrate ‘the social configurations that seem to go beyond individualism, in other words, the undefined mass, the faceless crowd and the tribalism consisting of a patchwork of small local entities’ (Maffesoli 1995:9). Neo-tribalism argues that tribes do not exist because society has become more individualistic, like advocates of liquid modernity suggest, rather they are an example of a resistance to individualism. People are drawn to live across many micro groupings rather than larger ‘mass’ groups however, this does not mean that they are engaging in shallower social relationships. They are engaging in meaningful ways in temporal groups. Maffesoli suggests that neo-tribes, ‘have strong powers of integration and inclusion, of group solidarity. These powers are displayed and

actualised in initiatory rituals and stages of membership' (1996:xi). Rituals bind the festival 'tribe', they illustrate how young people make meaning, memory, bonds and importantly solidarity between one another. Rituals will be considered in chapter seven and neo-tribalism will be used as a conceptual frame to understand the way young people create communities in chapter six. Neo-tribes exist if their rituals, families, identities and narratives continue. Neo-tribalism has been useful in illuminating the role of solidarity and the ways in which shared purposes, experiences and rituals bind young people together. It also helps to highlight the multiple social groupings that young people are involved in at festival, which liquid modernity fails to explain.

Riley et al. (2010) draw on Butler (2000) to argue that the social fragmentation and temporality of youth scenes is evidence of resistance, young people can 'radically' be themselves in fluid communities. EDMC have drawn on neo-tribalism to argue:

> that many social groups that people belong to in their everyday lives can be understood as political participation since they create (temporary) forms of community that orient around values of solidarity, hedonism and sovereignty' (Riley et al. 2010:37).

Riley et al. identified the processes that are unifying tribes in EDMC; solidarity, hedonism and sovereignty. Neo-tribalism combined with everyday politics has been a theoretical lens that has opened out and broadened the idea of youth agency in music spaces. It has been successfully used to acknowledge youth politics in other spaces and scenes, considered in chapter three, and neo-tribalism has provided counter narratives of youth groups that challenge the shallow and superficial perceptions of youth groups.

2.5.4 Post-Subcultural Theory

Post-subcultural theory utilises the principles of neo-tribalism and builds on subcultural theory to conceptualise young people's sociality. Drawing on neo-tribalism, post-subcultural theorists critique subcultural theory, which has dominated discourse about young people for decades. Post subcultural literature (Bennett 1999, 2011, 2004; Muggleton 2000) emerged as a critique and expansion of youth theory to deepen the understanding of young people in a changing social and technological landscape, where identities and groupings have become more fluid. Post subcultural writing has been heavily influenced by Maffesoli's (1995) concept of neo-tribalism. Post-subcultural theory argues that subcultures do not explain how young people move between multiple groupings to form small tribes, have multiplicity of identities, senses of identity and belonging. Post subcultural theory builds on the existing foundation of subcultures and argues that young people reaffirm identity by removing themselves from larger, parent society and create their own social norms, cultures and behaviours. The emphasis on fluid, temporal and multiple social groupings fits well with multidimensional festival spaces. It addresses the issue that the concept of liquid modernity does not acknowledge, namely the positive attributes of modern groupings. Liquid modernity emphasises that the fracturing of society and the new liquid form is freeing however, it negatively projects that the individuals can become ambivalent, that the movement between groupings and the temporal nature of the relationships and bonds means that their connections are not as deep or meaningful as they were previously, in traditional forms of community. This is an echo of the discourses around young people being apathetic, individualistic and disengaged. Andy Bennett, (1999, 2000, 2004) has successfully combined neo-tribal theory to expand subcultural literature by adopting and incorporating how young people mediate social groups, virtually or in person, in fluid ways to broaden narratives about youth. In doing so he highlights how young people are reactive and active to wider social changes. Bennet argues that Maffasoli's concept of neo-tribes provides us with a more appropriate way of understanding

how young people form social groupings and navigate post-modern society with its new risks and precariousness, arguing that; ‘tribal identities serve to illustrate the temporal nature of collective identities in modern consumer society as individuals continually move between different sites of collective expression and ‘reconstruct’ themselves accordingly’ (Bennett 1999:606). Reconstruction, the creative nature of building, rather than a passive practice of being in space, illustrates the political aspects of both subcultures, and the reconstructed post-subcultures of young people. The empirical data in my own research provided a wealth of evidence to show how young people were actively engaging in festivals because of the ‘people’ and the tribes, chapter six will show it was the main reason and motivation for young people to go to music festivals, according to the questionnaire data collected, a more important motivation than the music.

The main premise behind neo-tribalism is an assertion that social groups are not fixed but are fluid, a more nuanced understanding than that of subculture theory. However, there has been a backlash against post-subcultural understandings because of its incorporation and adoption of neo-tribalism. Amongst his study of body modification, Roberts (2015) explores how subcultural theory was more relevant as the fundamental unifying and oppositional characteristic, to the parent society, in his study was class. Post-subcultural works have moved away from class as the single definer of subcultures and understand the key actions defining post-subcultural tribes in opposition to the larger ‘parent group’ as inequality or social divisions (Bennett 1999; Shildrick and McDonald 2006), a more holistic set of identifiers than class alone which subculture focused on. Roberts (2015) returns to subculture and class, rejecting the fluidity of post-subcultures to argue that social class and economic status were the most important element which cemented and unified body modification subculture, articulating that there was limited fluidity. His work rejected post-subculture as his empirical work portrayed a more rigid group, one which was not temporary or fluid but more fixed.

Although many have held fast to subcultures and class, post-subculture has expanded to articulate how young people can belong to several groupings and move between them, so move between group rules and rituals, therefore have multiple senses of belonging and multiple, sometimes conflicting, identities. Like liquid modernity, young people are moving fluidly, however unlike liquid modernity post-subcultural theorists have evidenced how these forms of solidarity are more meaningful than liquid modernity acknowledges. This solidarity creates and is created by a shared purpose, shared experiences and constructed through shared rituals which will be discussed in more detail in chapter six. There is an assumption of temporality with neo-tribalism. This idea of temporality, however, is not to undermine the impact that these groupings can have for young people, which can be significant. Empirical data in this thesis will be used to explore the effects of such membership of festival tribes and the impact it can have for young people's social and emotional well- being.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical and contextual background to music festivals spaces, spatial theory and literature concerning young people's constructions of community and solidarity. These will be developed further in the analysis chapters to conceptualise the social and spatial processes that young people are engaged in at music festivals. The following chapter will explore the literature on spirituality and identity to understand young people's actions in music festivals. The literature chapters map onto the empirical ones, mirroring the key themes and concepts in this work. This chapter has discussed the limitations of societal understandings, and in the academic literature regarding music festivals and young people. This gap encouraged an exploration into music festivals, to identify the stories, narratives and experiences that were taking place for young people. The spatial considerations in the section, Space and Power, was constructed following

fieldwork and interrelated with the social, personal and individual processes that had emerged through fieldwork. The spatial theory leads into a later empirical discussion about how young people are forming new types of communities with different and alternative attributes, argued as a more natural way to socialise. The literature feeds into the project's fieldwork data and the findings and, in turn, helped rethink the approach to the literature and the development the four emergent themes. There is a mutual interdependence of secondary and primary data, and it was through exploration of spatial literatures of liquid modernity that the relationship between young people that the co-construction and subversion of space was made visible. The negative and superficial framing of music festivals and the young people who attend, showed a need to find new theories. Theories that illuminate youth socialness at festivals; TAZ, neo-tribalism and liminality challenge contemporary ideas of young people, spaces and communities at festivals. In doing so this work also addresses and critiques power relations in society, outside of festivals. This work not only challenges negative representations of youth hedonism but re-frames young people, acknowledging the everyday politics that they are engaged in, and valuing the post-subcultural tribes that they belong to.

3.

Chapter Three - Young People and Identity

3.1 Introduction

Youth have been almost exclusively theorised according to deviance. The ‘type’ of deviant discourse created has been constructed in different forms, in different times, depending on the values, fears and atmosphere of the day. As Griffin explores in *Representations of Youth: the study of youth and adolescence in Britain and America* (2013), the ways young people have been socially constructed as ‘deviant, deficient, perverted or resistant’ have been constructed in relation to the society at the time. Griffin unpacks how these discourses have developed and morphed, increasingly since the 1980’s, to entrench youth narratives which intermingle with social class, issues of unemployment, racism and gender.

The construction of youth is a reflection of what society is grappling with, whilst simultaneously youth behaviour projects criticism, conformity or rejection of social norms and values. Performed through behaviours, consumption practices and presentation, youth narratives are socially constructed and embodied. Embodiment and presentation of self will be unpacked in more detail in chapter eight. This work drew out aesthetics and dress as important indicators of resistance from young people at festivals, highlighting how young people presented in counter cultural ways to re-construct self youth narratives, highlighting resistance.

Cohen and Ainley (2000) highlight that, ‘the youth question in Britain has been primarily about moral or aesthetic issues rather than political or economic ones’ (80). Posing no real threat to political or economic stability, youth ‘culture’ is perceived and

constructed as morally dangerous, rather than dangerous for having the ability to effect change, therefore their appearance; consumption, leisure activities and behaviours have become a site for critique and negative representation, especially instigated by the media (Griffin 2013). Indeed ‘Moral panics about drugs, delinquency, sexual promiscuity and street violence are our forte’ (80) remarks Cohen and Ainley (2000), referring to young people the UK. These narratives perpetuate perceptions about young people at music festivals, as chapter two unpacked.

Goulding (1997) locates discourses surrounding young people and their representations into a longer history and unpacks the social construction of ‘childhood’, a protected state, turned prison. Goulding maps youth representations onto the socio-political and historical landscape, highlighting its interrelationship. She also foregrounds the deep nature in which youth is socially constructed, and therefore, its deviance narrative intertwined with the angst of the times. Contemporary youth demonisation is part of a longer history and is deeply rooted in discourse, power and a binary that exists in tension with one another; ‘adults’ and youth / child, one asserting its values and expectations on the other. Goulding emphasises the necessity to understand youth in context, to understand that the social, political and economic environment, alongside the nature of social control that exists in society shapes and constructs narratives of youth (14). Adding to this, Davis and Bourhill (1997) importantly note that, ‘Children and young people remain conspicuous by their absence in all but their misdeeds or as targets for (adult) popular judgment or academic analysis’ (29). Highlighting young people’s lack of political agency, autonomy and position within society lies alongside their negative over representation in the media. Davis and Bourhill’s work explores the media, its role and scrutiny of young people. Situating the construction of ‘deviant youth’ in a broader conceptualisation of ‘latent mythologies’ (31) and underlaying structures, in this case traditional assumptions of the family. When these latent mythologies are challenged by young people asserting alternative youth narratives, they have the capacity to create and sustain moral panics (Cohen 2002).

Representations of young people are discursive and situated in a broader cultural context that reflects wider social concerns. Youth narratives, put forward by the media discussed in chapter two, highlight the anxieties of wider society to control 'youth', their behaviours, activities, leisure and bodies.

This chapter brings the themes of spirituality and the self that emerged during fieldwork into a critical dialogue with academic literature relating to young people and identity. The analysis moves from the macro level and the contextualisation of festival space to the micro and meso scale to explore how young people have been considered, written about and theorised in academic literature. A focus will be placed on subcultural research and 'post' subcultural work, to explore young people's articulation of belonging. The chapter outlines the process of moral panic which accompanies young people to contextualise the ways society has distanced itself from youth. It then continues to discuss literature that focuses on the constructions of New Age spirituality exploring the role this has played in festival spaces, and considers broader definitions of spirituality that are used to ground the spiritual practices seen at festivals. Finally, this chapter will look at how identities are considered, constructed and formed to discuss the role of the festival body and its relationship with identity and resistance.

3.2 Theorising Young People

The Chicago School of Sociology emerged in the 1920's and 30's and expanded the disciplines of cultural sociology and urban studies, as well as being instrumental in the creation of subcultural research. Becker's (1963) work within the Chicago School on the construction of deviance, in relation to marijuana smokers, set foundations for future subcultural theorists to explore the different forms that youth resistance takes. The work of the Chicago School explored the construction of deviance and deviant behaviour amongst urban young men. The ideas of deviance, and the way that it is socially constructed within

the School's critical approach informs the theoretical underpinnings of this research. The narratives that exist within a parent group at the macro, societal level, constructs resistance, in the form of groups and behaviours from young people who have been distanced and problematised by wider society.

My research demonstrates that once outside of everyday society, and the representations and labels that exist within it, the power of negative narratives fall away allowing for alternative, creative practice to take place for young people who may no longer feel inhibited by these labels. The way young people are understanding themselves and their position in society is important, it effects how and to what extend they feel invested, and subsequently invest. Misrepresentations and labelling can increase the distance that young people feel between themselves and the state, influencing how invested they feel in wider society. As someone becomes less invested, they have less cause to adhere to social norms and behaviours. By exploring a space that young people do feel a sense of investment and ownership in, this work provides a case study of youth as active, engaged citizens.

Theorists began to re-imagine young people through the lens of cultural criminology in the 1960's. At a similar time, Becker's labelling theory (1963) and Cohen's seminal work of moral panic (2002) questioned the way in which we perceive youth and how society's gaze was shaping and constructing young people's behaviour. Building on the critical approaches of the Chicago School (Hall 1979) subcultural work emerged from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. What the CCCS provided was a framework that moved the discussion of youth beyond the confines of deviance and onto considering youth as active constructors, rather than being passive outcomes of macro processes. Identity, dress, belonging and capital were drawn out as uniting and confirming resistance from young people. Importantly the politics of subcultures was presented, young people constructed power by 'opposing'. Subcultures highlighted how young people reaffirmed agency and power against, and in opposition to, the 'parent' group through their:

cultural consumption, music tastes, activities, behaviours and dress. Dress came to the forefront of articulating resistance in *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (Hebdige 1995), Hebdige's seminal work illustrated that young people were actively constructing and engaging in identity politics, by forming and co-constructing new forms of youth groups. Music festival dress, behaviour and identities are considered in the last two fieldwork chapters Spirituality and Self. Music festivals are spaces of subculture, they represent a moment where oppositional attitudes, norms and behaviours are being played out. Subcultures are important to consider as they form the foundations of music festivals, as alternative counter cultural groups and music scenes have developed into music festivals. The free festival and rave scenes still permeate through festival spaces; the artists, producers and consumers of the rave movement are still leading actors in the UK festival scene. Subcultures can also use popular culture to address political issues, as seen in the practice of the Rock Against Racism (RAR) movement in the late 1970's and early 1980s. RAR utilised punk rock and reggae to advocate against the rising far-right movement in the UK. The movement was a space where identities, often conflicting racial and social senses of self were re-negotiated (Gilroy 2013). Rock against Racism provided a lens in which to see young people's everyday politics, articulated through their engagement and participation in the punk and reggae gigs put on by Rock against Racism. The fusion of punk and reggae in RAR, demonstrated that young people experienced similar processes of marginalisation regardless of music affiliations and taste. Music subcultural resistance was more unifying than the racially different roots and histories of the music. Young people connected because of their shared experiences of marginalisation and the negative perception of each subculture, this became unifying, their experiences joined them against structural processes of racism (Hebdige 1995).

The Chicago School's criminological approaches to youth deviance and the CCCS sociological perspective, specifically the shift to conceptualise youth resistance through their engagement and formation of communities, has informed youth studies literature and

remains influential as a foundation and analysis of youth communities (McKay et al. 1942; Cohen 2002; Hebdige 1995). Another important element to come out of the CCCS was the use of an ethnographic approach combined with a critical gaze which led to an exciting explosion of youth-based research, re-centring research on young people on lived experiences and perspectives. It highlighted the agency that young people employ within their lives to resist oppressive narratives, the small acts of resistance in spaces that are free from societal labels and representations. As the last chapter demonstrated there has been a theoretical move to re-think youth studies questioning its dependence on subcultural theory. A move that has engaged with temporary notions of community to evaluate youth community in the contemporary era, focusing on the ways youth groups operate in a more fluid, free flowing way enhanced by technology and a different economic backdrop than that if the 1970's and 1980's. To continue the conversation about how young people have been theorised it is important to understand the moral panic of youth and how this continues today.

3.2.1 Moral Panic

Moral panics have followed young people, they articulate and mirror the fears that a society has towards certain groups. Primarily the focus of which has been on marginalised, disenfranchised young people. The concept of 'moral panic' (Cohen 2002) considers the way that society constructs and sensationalises negative understandings of groups. They construct and are constructed by narratives of fear and worry, often embedded within media discourses that seek to project a deviant image onto a specific group of people. Cohen's work explored how Mods and Rockers were constructed as threatening to wider society. Since the 1970's the concept has been expanded to different groups but the underlying processes that entrench the idea that a group is to be feared, remain. One key actor in moral panic is the media and the ways they construct representations, narratives discourses about groups in society:

> A condition, episode, person or group emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media (Cohen 2002:9).

Much like the criticism of subcultural research, made in the previous chapter, moral panics seem to be the domain of the urban, created about youth and other social groups in cities. There is an exception which is discussed later in this chapter about New Age Travellers but the majority of researched ‘panics’ have arisen about social groups in urban space. This illustrates a gap in the literature around young people, moral panics and rural spaces. Cohen’s writing on the social construction of deviance in *Folk Devils and Moral Panic* (2002), presents the media as an agent of social control and analyses the role that the media plays in creating stereotypes. Cohen deconstructs the role that the media plays in 'moral panic', ‘The media have long operated as agents of moral indignation in their own right’ (2002:7) and illustrates how it is instrumental in constructing social norms and values within society. The previous chapter discussed the role of the media in representing young people at music festivals and this section goes further to outline what impact this is having on wider social process, the ways the media presents, stereotypes and constructs young people at music festivals creates discourses that can enhance negative behaviours. The way in which The Guardian (Quinn 2014) cited in the previous chapter portrays music festivals illustrates how the media is still able to shape and create false narratives that can fuel stereotypes and continue moral panics, in this case about drug use and feral, ‘subhuman’ behaviours of young people at music festivals.

Stereotypes of young people at music festivals have been explored in chapter two with a critical analysis of the media representation of the space, importantly to Cohen (2002) ‘these concepts do not date’ (2002:4). The misrepresentations and following stereotypes still present in media discourses and filter through into wider understandings

of young people, this is present not only in media literatures but also by young people effected. As these lines from Plan B, a British rapper highlights:

> We're all drinkers, drug takers.
> Every single one of us burns the herb
> Keep on believing what you read in the papers
> Council estate kids, scum of the earth
> (Plan B, 2011 [lyrics]).

Plan B's lyrics were written in response to the way the media reacted to young people following the 2011 riots, showing an insight and awareness into the processes that were negatively presenting youth as problematic, criminal and dangerous. Plan B articulates the stereotype of young people as alcohol drinkers and drug users and explicitly asserts that the main architect of this negative representation is the media. He concludes by saying 'Feed the fear, that's what we've learned. Fuel the fire. Let it burn'. Such lyrics demonstrate that Plan B is both aware of and determined to critique the perception that young people are dangerous and to be feared by society. Young people have learned from experiences of media stereotyping and its ability to construct anxiety in society and come resent such stereotyping - 'Fuel the fire': Get angry and fight back. Plan B's lyrics provide a lens through which we can see how young people understand their position in society. An understanding that they are not seen as valuable, engaged or useful members of society but as deviant and dangerous. This is a picture that has been painted about young people for decades (Cohen 2002) and which, through pop culture references like Plan B's lyrics, we can see it being retold and reinforced in the twenty-first century.

These negative representations of youth gain strength at difference times. The 2011 riots in towns and cities across England re-entrenched negative perceptions of young people. The way they were represented in the media was directly linked to the 2011 riots,

young people were articulated about in collective terms such as, ‘feral underclass’ and that perception, labelling and representation had an impact on the lived experiences of young people (Jones 2011; Stott et al. 2011; Briggs 2012). Young people were labelled as consumerist (Moxon 2011; Treadwell et al. 2013), criminal and deviant in the media (Addley 2011[20]). The re-entrenchment of such a moral panic helps to embed the negative stereotyping of young people into the collective memory of society. The attitude towards young people summarised above impacts on the ways that young people feel senses of belonging and investment in society. Often internalised, messages that negatively portray young people frame their relationship with wider society, influencing the ways in which the ’self’ is constructed and on attitudes towards ‘spirituality’, as became clear during fieldwork. It is important now to bring young people’s experience into a dialogue with theoretical literature about the nature and formation of ‘spirituality’.

3.3 Spirituality

The search for existential meaning emerged as an important sub-theme during my fieldwork; this study has conceptualised young people’s ‘meaning making’ at festivals by drawing on theory to explore how young people are constructing and presenting spirituality at music festivals. It is important, therefore, to consider how young people in a festival context understand spirituality. Spiritual constructions and forms have been affected by liquid modernity which has had implications on the way in which beliefs and spiritual practices are embodied, practiced and are being presented. I refer to this landscape as the spiritual and holistic milieu (Heelas et al. 2005). The holistic milieu is the term used to describe the pick and mix spiritual landscape that has emerged as a result of a fragmenting, liquid society. It is intermeshed with New Age philosophies and spiritualties that understand

[20] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/aug/09/london-riots-kids-parents-police

nature as a focal point for worship and belief. New Age spirituality is outlined for two reasons. First, this spiritual tradition has a history at UK music festivals and secondly because the spiritual practices that were witnessed at music festivals were closely affiliated to New Age. Alongside the holistic milieu, an understanding of the liminal nature of the festival communitas (Turner 1969), as noted in the previous chapter, helps us to grasp the ways in which young people make meaning, engage in ritual and adopt reflexive practice in a festival context. Liminality situates the conversation of young people's spirituality in spatial terms, considering the effects of alternative space on the ways that young people are thinking spirituality. During fieldwork it became clear that the everyday nature of young people's political action was being presented through their actions, behaviours and narratives at music festivals, the same everyday and bottom up construction was taking place for spiritual forms. Day (2008) describes how young people construct beliefs situated in the everyday and that there has been a shift in how young people are understanding spirituality, from a focus on beliefs to belonging. Spirituality is not being rejected but is understood in a different way that foregrounds the everyday, 'Young people have shifted the meaning of belief to describe affective relationships in which they feel they belong to. Such a shift necessitates a relocation of the transcendent to the everyday and social' (Day 2008: 263). It is the everyday spiritual meaning making and small acts that frame the way that young people are presenting spirituality. A changing spiritual landscape, an increase in individual ways of performing spirituality combined with the fracturing and altering of social groups, suggest that spirituality is being constructed in alternative ways in alternative spaces, rather than within organised religions. It can be argued that there is also a desire for transcendence and a spiritual connection at festivals beyond the everyday, transcendental states are an important aspect of festival practices, rituals and culture. Drumming, dancing and drug taking all encourage a transcendental state and evidence a desire for spiritual experiences at music festivals.

3.3.1 The Spiritual Milieu

Castells (2010) argues that: 'the vast majority of youth feel disaffected from religion in general' (22). It is important to recognise that, whilst Castells' assertion may be true of some young people in relation to organised Abrahamic religion, a growing majority of sociologists of religion have challenged the veracity of the secularisation thesis (Davie 1994; Heelas et al. 2005).

This thesis does not focus on such contested debates about secularisation. I do, however, argue that it is important to posit a distinction between organised religion and individualised spirituality and to recognise that the literature on young people's falling church attendance and perceived apathy to religion should not be confused with the articulation of individualised spiritualities by young people. Spirituality is a highly contested term. There is a vast literature that focuses on spirituality within the context of Abrahamic religions (Heelas, et al. 2005; King, et al. 2009; Lerner, et al. 2008) and since the counter cultural movements of the 1960's there has been an emergence of literature concerned with spirituality as defined in the context of alternative and New Age beliefs or the spiritual and holistic milieu Lynch (2002, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Partridge 2005, 2006). This spiritual milieu (Heelas et al. 2005) denotes the diversity of spiritual practices that are constructed and aimed at enabling transcendence beyond the lived experience, it is the expression of ideas about external powers, influences and concepts understood as spiritual. Concepts of spirituality are drawn from holistic understandings that frame spirituality as rooted in the experiential, lived experiences that encourage alternative thinking about space, society and the sacred (Partridge 2005). The analysis chapter on Spirituality will return to the idea of utopia to explain the outcome of young people's spirituality of hope. It is transcendence that I argue can be defined as a spiritual practice which shows that young people are looking beyond the physical into something beyond, looking to larger forces and belief systems. Such spiritual practice is embodied by the energies and essences that are being played with and invested in by young people at music festivals. Alongside these types of

spiritual practice, young people are also engaged in articulating ideas of utopia, hope and about how they want society to be. It is important to note that the young people who informed this study were not reflecting on ideas associated with any organised religions.

The conversation about young people's spirituality is not a new one and part of a wider debate about the rise of secularism and individualism. Arguably, there has been a divergence of spirituality and religion in recent decades and spirituality is no longer synonymous with religion, as Altini-Macic et al. (2015) discusses in his work with young people in Turkey, 'Over time spirituality has been removed from religious belief' (Altınlı-Macić 2015:160). This apparent divergence does not necessarily mean a diluting of religiosity, rather a difference in the way in which many young people practice, perform and create spiritual belief. Heelas et al. define this type of spirituality as a 'holistic milieu' in *The Spiritual Revolution* (2005). It is through the lens of the spiritual and holistic milieu that I situate young people's spirituality as witnessed at music festivals. Although there is a concern in the UK that there is a disengagement between young people and religious practices, which has taken the form of a concern over the rise in atheism, fuelled by declining church attendance (Bruce 2002). This decline can be seen as a difference between the ways young people express and experience spirituality and highlight a generational difference, rather than a spiritual one. Young people in festivals showed elements of spirituality and a desire to transcend in ways they do not outside of the space, to explore ideas of higher or external forces. The young people I worked alongside during fieldwork were performing and engaging in spiritual practices in new forms and in new ways. As Harvey (2012) describes there is a shift for some in the way people are engaging with spiritual beliefs, 'the rise of such beliefs does point to a religious shift among the general population: it indicates that people are 'doing' religion differently' (Harvey 2012:161). The everyday ways that young people construct spirituality may be a contemporary shift but is not evidence of unbelief or loss of spirituality, rather different forms in a different cultural, economic and social context. Young people were in an active process

of re-working and constructing alternative spiritual practices in the space, young people are not losing it but thinking about it in a different way (Day 2008), such spirituality is outside of the church and embedded in the everyday.

There has been an increase in recent years of the exploration and unpacking of the post 1960's expressions of spirituality and the implications that it has had for spiritual practices in modern Britain. There have been discussions on the youth movement, spirituality and Generation X (Flory et al. 2000; Gay et al. 2013). However, there is little up to date, empirical research that concerns young people in Modern Britain and their spiritual practices outside of traditional Abrahamic religions. The limited exploration there has been has focused on New Age beliefs. There have been several studies conducted that consider young people's changing spiritual beliefs which have centred on the relationship between popular music and New Age spirituality (Lynch 2006; Beck and Lynch 2006; Partridge 2005), these have drawn on emergent spiritualities of 'occulture', identifying popular culture as the context and creator of youth spirituality. Also Since 2010 there has been a movement of academics who have focused on the Burning Man Festival in the U.S. Called Burning Academics who use the music festival as a case study to explore a range of sociological and artistic practices. The existence and creation of spirituality and ritual within music festivals has been a key theme for Burning Academics (Lee 2010, 2005, 2003; Pike 2010, 2001; Morehead 2010, 2009). Similar comparatives and exploration have not taken place within music festivals in the U.K. Burning Man has been observed as being a space in which constructions of spirituality are being re-worked but this evaluation has not been empirically explored, only theoretically considered. The processes considered however, demonstrate the enduring significance of spirituality. As De Groot (2008) argues, 'Observers of religion should note the presence of religious activities, themes and rituals in other social spheres' (De Groot 2008:294), articulating that spaces beyond the Church, are important to acknowledge as spiritual. De Groot challenges the assumption that religion and modern society cannot be harmonious and talks to a continuing debate within theology

about whether secularism is occurring or whether there are new spiritual identities being constructed outside of organised religions. Are the practices of spirituality and 'meaning making' that were taking place at festival evidence of young people forming new forms of spirituality? It is to this question that I now turn.

3.3.2 New Age

The New Age Traveller Movement developed out of the social movements of the 1960's and was a collection of people, a community travelling in convoy and living in vans, cars and lorries, who moved between free festivals, sacred spaces and religious celebrations throughout the year. It is uncertain whether the movement came out of the free festival movement of the 1960's and 1970's (Partridge 2005:158) or if the free festival movement was influenced by New Age but there exists a historical and cultural link between the movement, its values and ethos and UK music festivals. Travellers demonstrate archaic rival, looking to the past as inspiration for how to live more sustainably in the future. Basing their lifestyle on nomadic practices, they identify with the oppressed and gather inspiration from Native Americans, gypsies, peasants, vagrants and circus performers. New Age movements are aligned with counter cultural groups and ways of living. Their association with free festivals and modern music festivals demonstrates that the movement still inhabits alternative, counter culture spaces and oppressed groups.

The Spirituality chapter that arose from fieldwork highlights young people's constructions of modes of spirituality that are shaped by the festival context, rather than in relation to other spiritual organisations. However, it is important to highlight the close link between the evolution of music festivals and New Age Travellers and forms of New Age Spirituality (NAS). It is this spiritual current that runs through the festival space, especially in the construction of space and its ethos. However, NAS cannot be wholly relied upon to explain young people's expressions of spirituality as many young people had little or no

knowledge of the movement. Therefore, although NAS are evident in the festival scene, there are other processes that are taking place. It is proposed in chapter five and seven that youth spirituality is being constructed through processes of cultural absorption at festivals of New Age principles, and also as a product and construct of alternative space. The closest formal representations of spirituality that were present at festivals were associated with beliefs in deep ecology and nature-based spiritualities such as Paganism, Wicca and nature worship, which see the self and nature as equal rather than wo/man having dominance over nature. Partridge (2005 and 2006) discusses the popularity of NAS in *Re-Enchantment of the West*, *Vol 1 & 2*. His volumes explore pop culture and spirituality, and the subsequent emerging occulture. He identified the relationship between pop culture and has re-entrenched spirituality. Occulture is the conceptualisation of the ways New Age practices have been adopted into mainstream culture. Partridge theorises the disenchantment of the West, by documenting the move of people away from organised religion into the re-entrenchment of society with alternative, personal spiritual practices (2005). Bauman (2000) and Castells (2010) nuanced understandings of the fragmenting of society are mirrored in Partridge's focus on spiritual practices. In Volume 1, *The Re-enchantment of the West* Partridge clearly links free festivals, new age and new 'consumer' festivals. As he states:

> […] the festival experience today, although far more commercial
> and organized than earlier festivals, and although attracting a much wider
> section of society, still preserves that which is countercultural (Partridge 2005:160).

Counter culture, occuture, New Age practices and festivals are closely interconnected and Glastonbury festival, in particular, has been compared to other spiritually sacred sites throughout the world (161). The sacredness of space will be explored in more detail in the Spirituality chapter. Partridge (2005) suggests that the Burning Man Festival is the U.S.A's

equivalent to Glastonbury with respect to the spiritual meaning its attendees attach to the event. Literature on Burning Man and the consolidation of Burning Man Academics will be discussed in the Spirituality analysis chapter. Spirituality is embedded in the Burning Man space which ‘is explicitly viewed by festivalgoers as sacred space, to be distinguished from the wider 'outside' (profane?) world’ (2005:163). The importance of space and being inside the music festivals will be explored in detail in chapter five and in chapter seven, by identifying how young people are relating to the space and constructing it as sacred to them. As Bakhtin comments on as he describes the carnivalesque, the space embodies ‘the fantastic and the real, the physical and the spiritual; the feeling of rising, growing, flowering and fading, of the transformation of nature eternally alive’ (1965:142). To understand young people’s spirituality the space must be conceptualised as a facilitator for alternative thinking, here Bakhtin is bringing together key elements which this work has combined to understand the formation of spirituality, physical space, transformation and nature. The spirituality section will draw strongly on space theory alongside New Age ideas but it diverges from Partridge on one key point, he argues that:

> the festival is an island of countercultural utopianism where *rejected* ideas and behaviours can be explored and celebrated. Therefore, the type of spirituality the festival-goer delights in is necessarily countercultural, subversive, and rejected – occultural (Partridge 2005:165).

My engagement with subcultural theory leads me to argue that young people are in a process of throwing off old ideas and, behaviour. However, as the Self chapter, which arose from my fieldwork, will show, young people’s spiritual meaning making in the festival context is not an example of what Partridge terms ‘occulture’. My work suggests that it is not an act of occulture that young people are engaged in, occulture being an appropriation of occult and counter cultural practices into the mainstream, but resistance through a re-

engagement with ways of being spiritual that form naturally. To understand and contextualise how this form of spirituality is meshing with young people's resistance it is important to draw on Lynch (2007a). In *The New Spirituality* Lynch describes how spirituality 'can be seen as a form of resistance to a secularised world view generated by the modernisation of society' (Lynch 2007a:13). Lynch draws from Castells (2010) and liquid modernity to explore how spirituality for young people, in an increasingly fragmented society, can be a political act, an everyday act and an outcome of modernity. As Lynch emphasises, 'The Progressive Milieu functions as an important source of identity' (2007a:86). Lynch explores the impact of spirituality on identity construction on what he terms the 'New Spirituality'. He suggests that the creation of new forms of identity are in response to a changing society which reconfigures individual ideas about the self and in what Castells terms collective identity (2010). It is important to note as it demonstrates how in the spiritual milieu people are forming collective identities, a concept that challenges liquid modernity and the idea that the fragmenting of society is an individualising process and one that increases the distance between people. Lynch (2007a) and Castells (2010) draw a positive picture of collective identity one bonded through shared beliefs and values. Three key aspects of collective identity that Lynch (2007a) identified help to frame young people's spirituality in music festivals. First, people have a shared sense of belonging, articulated by using the term 'we' and us'. Second, collective identity is characterised by a shared set of values, outlooks or goals. Finally, collective identities are characterised by a shared 'oppositional activity' towards a dominant, hegemonic order (2007a:87). These three identifiers of collective identity within the spiritual milieu are mirrored at music festivals and the Solidarity chapter expands on the ways that young people are brought together in a space that facilitates a shared purpose, ideology, language and, as the previous literature chapter outlined, a shared lived experience of being marginalised by society.

3.3.3 Pilgrimage and Moral Panic

New Age Travellers used to practice migration in convoys. Like other traveller groups they lived nomadically but moved in a spiritual pattern by following a set movement between spiritual sites around the country, travelling between henges and ley lines in order of the seasons. One such convoy, the Peace Convoy made annual pilgrimages to Glastonbury and Stonehenge. A moral panic (Cohen 2002) developed around these travellers and subsequent free festivals in the early 1980's, which culminated with the Battle of Beanfield in 1985. Hetherington (1998) suggests that the moral panic related to competing claims over the countryside. New Age Travellers were offering an alternative way of life and understanding of nature, which critiqued the dominant view of society that humanity are custodians who have control over nature. New Age Spirituality argues instead for a view of humanity co-existing with the natural world, which therefore deserved respect and conservation. This belief was threatening and still is in modern society as it challenges societal norms and undermines a lot of the environmental practices that we engage with, for example deforestation and resource extraction. Another principle of the movement was free access to the commons, which challenged private ownership. This utopian perspective and alternative way of living was a counter cultural force which was constructed as a danger to the status quo by the government at the time, demonstrated by the new intensive laws which restricted parking sites around the country. Travellers go between festivals in the summer months and often park in rural areas mainly in Wales or in South East England during the winter. The Battle of the Beanfield brought out 1300 police to control and turn away 600 of the Peace convoy. Large numbers of travellers were arrested, making it the largest number of civil arrests to take place at one time in UK history (Worthington 2005). Following the Battle of Beanfield the convoy went on to Glastonbury Free Festival, set up the Green Futures field and embedded themselves into the makeup of the festival. The Battle of Beanfield was an important turning point for many reasons. There is an important question that arose from Beanfield, why was there was such a harsh response from the

police? Arguably the police response reflected the perception that New Age Travellers challenged dominant social relations by offering an alternative way of life that challenged the societal norms of housing, religion and work. The convoy was an example of what Bey (1991) refers to as permanent autonomous zones, or spaces in which alternative practices were protected and established which had a longevity, to some extent the convoy was an illustration of an established TAZ. New Age Travellers advocate access to the land believing that the countryside belongs to all and therefore they have rights to the commons. This represents a challenge to rural private landlords and although the convoy did not travel again the New Age Traveller movement embedded its ideas of nature, spirituality and community into festivals. Their influence still radiates from festival spaces today and as such some of the ideas of spirituality from young people have their roots in an older generation and alternative ways of living.

3.4 Festival Identities

Young people feel investment, value and belonging in festival spaces, they play a part in creating such spaces and are being transformed by them. Agency, confidence and hope are created through expressions of identity, by playing with notions of self, spirituality and solidarity. Identity construction has been theorised as a one-way, top down process. Identity and belonging considered to be constructed through labour, work or ones role in society, as Castells (2010) articulates, identity is defined by social and cultural norms ‘structured by the institutions and organisations of society’ (7). It is envisioned as a one-way system, where identities are constructed by a dominant overarching structure. However, temporal spaces disrupt these assumptions and the normal rules, routines and norms that exist within the outside society which empowers and constructs dominant institutions. As the dominant structures are less dominant in festivals spaces identity constructions become more fluid and shifting. The space disrupts hierarchies and norms

about behaviours, therefore, encourage counter cultural behaviours, bending and re-shaping actions and agency. Music festivals, in doing so, fragment the structures that Castell's asserts construct identities. The vacuum left behind is emancipatory, it allows young people to play with alternative types of identities, as chapter eight will explore. The freedom of the space is impacting young people at the site of the self, by enabling a vacuum from the structures that shape, oppress and construct identities, music festivals allow for new forms to be thought of, created and lived. Castell's (2010) definition has an unintended consequence, it articulates that identities are constructed by the overarching social and cultural norms of every day society. Festivals are an anomaly, as they actively disrupt in social and cultural norms, in the tradition of carnival (Bakhtin 1965) and TAZ (Bey 1991). The space doesn't adhere to the main drivers that Castell's argues construct identity. Therefore, there are alternative institutions and the organisation of society is done organically, naturally and differently at music festivals. Identities, much like spirituality and solidarity can be formed in a natural freer way. The institutions that form identity are being constructed from the bottom up, from emergent actors, rather than prescribed by wider society, although the space is constructed and produced young people have the ability to shape it, they have more agency within the festival society.

Music festivals exhibit principles of Castell's second form of identity construction, resistant identity. This differs from his first, legitimising identity, as there is no dominant institution that is shaping identity, as shown in chapter five, but rather identity is constructed by the disruption of norms. Young people are involved in 'the building of defensive identity in the terms of dominant institutions/ideologies, reversing the value judgment' (Castell 2010:8). They reconstruct what is socially acceptable at festivals and therefore exhibit resistant identities, ones that affirm alternative values, morals and ethos to prevailing hegemonic discourses outside of the space. Festivals present alternative ideologies that contradict outside institutions, for instance attitudes towards drugs, showing how young

people are defying dominant structures through their behaviour at music festivals. The analysis chapters show how young people, through their social practices, behaviour and body are reversing the value judgement. Young people's identities, understood in postmodern, liquid and fluid ways suggest that young people can identify with multiple, sometimes contesting ideas of self, depending on context. Identity construction is formed in context (Castell 2010). It is therefore appropriate to discuss festival identities, those that are constructed, altered, re-arranged and formed at music festivals. There is an inherent link between space and self, as well as social context. Young people's identities can be temporal but have longer reaching implications to self as chapter eight reveals.

The changing of the body, beautification and dress demonstrate the processes that take place at festivals evidencing different social and cultural behaviours and norms. They also illustrate the impacts of a heightened sense of freedom in alternative spaces. The impact of freedom is considered by Bey (1991) 'the festal aspect of the moment which is unControlled, and which adheres in spontaneous self- ordering, however brief. It is "epiphanic"--a peak experience on the social as well as individual scale (Bey 1991:21). Bey highlights how moments of uncontrol can facilitate 'self-ordering' or reflections on self and identity. The uncontrol impacts at the micro level of self, as well as the meso and social levels. The following fieldwork chapters will address festivals as TAZ and explore what this 'self-ordering' looks like. As previously mentioned Lynch (2007a) suggests that one marker of collective identity is a shared opposition to a wider oppressive majority. Castells (2010) also speaks of this unifying element in *The Power of Identity: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture* in relation to radicalised youth and the Zapatista movement. Castells argues that the alienation of young people creates a shared purpose which 'is a clear expression of the transformation of a resistance identity into a project identity' (2010:165). Castells uses the example of the Japanese Aum to reflect on the importance of virtual connections, which militate against a feeling of distance between young people

and wider society, which, he argues arise from a ‘cultural despair from youth alienated in an over-organized society’ (Castells 2010:107). Young people are actively seeking new spaces in which to empower themselves and find others that feel disenfranchised with society. In the Solidarity chapter, this work analyses the way in which this process and collective identity is fostered in festivals spaces. Festivals are moments and pockets in which young people can articulate their own form of counter cultural communities. Castells considers music festivals specifically describing how they ‘attract participants to the pleasure of a multi-dimensional happening, in the language of the youth culture to which many of the participants belong (Castells 2010:158). Illustrating how a shared purpose, in this case pleasure seeking, bonds communities of young people. One way in which young people were united was through dress, the next part of this chapter will explore the role of dress and the construction of a festival body plays in festival spaces.

3.4.1 Dress and Festival Bodies

The literature on the body helps to frame the questions being answered in the analysis chapter on the self. What happens when social and cultural norms about appearance are lifted? How are young people playing with beautification, gender, identities and how is this making them feel? What is the effect of this disruption? Chapter eight seeks to answer these questions by understanding that there is an interrelationship between the body, self and emotions, ‘The body is also, and primarily, the self’ (Synnott 1993:1). The micro level is explored through a conversation that looks at how the emotional self and the body reflect the space in which they are formed.

Dress brings young people closer to their own self- image, especially in a festival context where they experience a greater sense of freedom, a concept which will be explored in more detail in the Self chapter. I suggest that festival spaces facilitate a desire in young people to change appearance and resultant physical change can have an emotional impact. Dress and fashion has long been a key area of discussion within

subcultural theory. It acts to identify, to affiliate and as a political statement. The festival space empowers young people to be their true selves. Subcultural bodies in the past have evidenced a rejection of the clean- cut aspirational image of the day. In the case of punks, it has been shown to be a rejection of the natural, for steel and metal, piercing and tattoos to make the body a political site to shock and challenge society. Dress and appearance: style and fashion have consistently been embedded in subcultures as markers of a distinctive group. Although there are commonalities amongst young people's dress and shared practices and rituals, there is not one distinctive image of a festival goer. Reflecting a myriad collective identity, one which is multiple and fluid. This thesis therefore reflects on several practices identified during ethnographic fieldwork that highlight the difference between the everyday body and the festival body, examining how these practices are inherently political:

> the struggle between the physical and social body can be analyzed in terms of the individual in opposition to the state or culture. Tattooing appears then as a means to reappropriate the physical body from the socially dis-eased body (Fisher 2002:104).

The concept of the body is integral to discussions about the self. Being in a festival is an extreme embodied and physical experience. The body is a social construct and mirrors the expectations, social and cultural norms that are embedded in the society in which they are created. With this in mind, the body should be read as a response to, and as co-creating the community in which it is situated. It is co-creating social and cultural norms by being active agent within the space. Dress and body norms facilitate a culture therefore, an open culture to dress and the body encourages others to play, deconstruct and reconstruct aspects of their dress body. There is an interrelationship between the body and the context it is situated so we would expect that in music festivals, with its alternative counter cultural

and temporal nature, to facilitate an alternative body. As chapter eight will explore, young people are re-constructing and playing with, pushing out and expanding on a deconstructed body to create and construct new bodies, new dress and behaviours, all of which articulate a reconstruction of identity.

Synnott (1993) creates a useful metaphor for the body, 'the body is not a 'given', but a social category with different meanings imposed... As such it is therefore sponge-like in its ability to absorb meanings, but also highly political' (1993:1). The 'sponge' metaphor is interesting but is not expansive enough to explain how the body can also be resistant: absorbing as well as resisting material. Synnott describes this as a political action, a concept explored further in the Self chapter. The body can change dramatically in festival spaces, because of camouflaging, painting and glittering. The festival space facilitates this expression and transforms young people physically. What does this tell us about young people, how they see themselves and what they value? Racial bodies, gendered and sexualised bodies have long been explored and the micro level of the self and researched in relation to bodies out of place within geography and gendered bodies within feminist literature. However, there is no academic literature on glitter, henna, feathers, neon face paint or other beautification ingredients that are becoming synonymous with music festivals. Festival fashion has not gained the attention of academic literature and features only in the news headlines, as previously discussed in chapter two. However, through the beautification of their bodies by young people, by changing their appearance personal transformations take place, the cultural significance of which is discussed by a large body of literature. This literature has mainly focused on a moral panic, surrounding alternative bodies; tattooed bodies, pierced and bodies modified (Mascia-Lees et al. 1992; Koziel et al 2010). This work falls under the traditional body and dress constructs in subcultural theory, which comments on a uniformed group or subculture and its preferences of dress and beautifying techniques. Most prominently in relation to make-up and transformation, especially in relations to gender and goth subcultures (Hodkinson 2002 & 2007; Mackie

2009). Feminist perspectives towards the body have brought considerations of how the body is consumed, culturally and socially constructed and embodied to the fore also (Butler 2011), more aligned with the approach in the self chapter in which I suggest that the body is culturally and socially constructed. Normative ideas about the body are disrupted once that body is in another space, a temporal space which does not inhibit with normative social and cultural understandings of the body.

3.4.2 Subcultural Identity and the Body

One way to conceptualise the body, what it represents and how it is shaped is through the lens subcultural theory. The Contemporary Centre for Cultural Studies was an important advocate for research into the ways in which young people resist dominant social structures through dress and cultural practices. Valentine writes that 'they argued that culture is a distinctive way of life embodied in beliefs and customs, social relations, institutions and material objects' (1997:13). The CCCS also outlined how young people were involved in meaning making through their appearance (Hebdige 1995). Dress and objects; the use of safety pins, tattoos or chains for example, were integral identification of membership in a subculture and acted to symbolise resistance (Sweetman 1999). The CCCS was instrumental in reframing youth and subculture research however, it does not sufficiently explore the importance of youth bodies, what they tell us about agency and how they give insights into the space they are constructed. The action of changing your appearance is highly symbolic and chapter eight will explore how music festivals, through creating the space to enact beautification, are changing young people's appearance and identity. One way in which subcultures moved thinking about young people forward is documenting how: 'The creation of new subjective meanings and oppositional lifestyles were interpreted as a cultural struggle for control over their own lives' (Valentine et al. 2008:13). The concept of regaining control, asserting power and challenging dominant hegemonic structures will be explored in relation to how dress, appearance, behaviour – specifically in relations to what

young people are putting into their bodies, for instance drink and drugs. What young people are putting into their bodies at festivals is both challenging larger dominant society and evidence of resistance. Subcultural theory analysed how dress unified and promoted collective identity through resistant dress and by self-identifying one another through appearance. It also highlighted the importance of ethnography in researching young people, alongside researching several subcultures which have a strong presence in music festivals. As noted above, New Age Travellers have had a long connection with music festivals and can be seen as a subgroup of the larger hippy subculture (McRobbie and Garber 1977). This subcultural group has fascinated cultural researchers since their emergence in the 1960's. Punks also have a history of being researched, their appearance and style; pierced and tattooed bodies, have also become common, as has bleached and dyed hair as subcultural practices are commodified. The 'shock' and performance of the body in festival spaces is still common practice. Shock was a major political and subcultural practice used to regain agency from an oppressive dominant society, punk actively opposed Thatcher and a capitalist agenda through practices of squatting. Synnott's (1993) *The Body Social* explores the ways in which young people use their bodies to play with alternative ideas of self and identity, his work becomes seminal in a discussion around the deeper understandings of resistance we can gauge from the way young people present themselves, further discussed in chapter eight.

Through physically changing their bodies young people are constructing a new sense of self and identity. As Sweetman (1999) states: 'becoming tattooed or pierced is an act of 'self-creation' (69), by changing the surface young people are constructing a 'viable sense of self identity' (69). The difference for identity construction within the festival setting is that it represents a social space that is outside of a wider oppressive society. As the previous literature review chapter discussed, liminal spaces and TAZ are spaces that suspend dominant structures. These types of spaces offer young people a space to play and empower themselves, to adorn themselves how they want and build personalities and

identities that they wish to embody. Even though subcultural theory has been successful in outlining how young people's dress is a reflection of their context, it does not go far enough nor is nuanced enough to explain the ways in which contemporary young people are playing with identities. Using Bauman's concept of liquid modernity (Bauman 2000) and neo-tribalism (Bey 1991) as foundations, this work has shown that young people's identities and construction of self have become more fluid. The rigid subcultural lines have blurred. Although there are symbolic objects and modes of dress associated with the hippy or punk subculture at festivals, but these no longer function as they used to. Postmodernism and the fracturing and diversification of identities, which was outlined in the previous literature chapter with an evaluation of liquid modernity, makes understanding what is counter cultural more problematic, as we have no clear definition of what is subcultural (Sweetman 1999:54).

In this fluid context how can counter-culture be identified? The analysis chapters argue that the idea of a counter culture still has resonance, the political act of resistance is still being enacted and one way is on the site of the body. This resistance takes place in new, different, eclectic, and in a confused manner and festivals are enabling young people to find a space and the confidence to play and subvert outside structural 'real world' power. They do this by reconstructing ideas of self and identity in the realms and spaces that allows, articulating this resistance through their own bodies. The enabling element of this process impacts on how young people feel about the festival and the role that dress and beautification play is an essential element to creating the festivals space.

3.4.3 Dress, Tattoos and Resistance

Tattooing was considered deviant, and has been thoroughly critiqued by sociologists (Sweetman 1999; Fisher 2002). For Fisher (2002), 'tattooing as a form of body modification can be analyzed as a form of resistance to or a symptom of a culture that has commodified the body' (92). It is a peer practice, 'Tattooing is generally a peer activity with about 64

percent of tattoos coming to the shop with friends or family" (Fisher 2002:100). In his work with tattooed people, Sweetman (1999) commented that many of his interviewees stated that after being tattooed or pierced they had experienced an increase in self-confidence, some because of the process and the experience of enduring pain. Others because it 'brought them closer to their own self- image' (Sweetman:68). It grows young people's self-confidence, the process of pain or finding their own self-image by creating new identities and personalities are bringing greater confidence and well-being for young people. The act of tattooing, and as I later argue beautification at festivals, allows young people to articulate their sense of identity simultaneously increasing their confidence.

Whilst tattoos are not overtly synonymous within festivals, there are many parallels between practices of body transformation and festival spaces, there are temporary transformative beautification taking place; like henna tattooing, glittering and body painting. Tattooing is also looked at here as it is synonymous with several subcultures for instance; punks, rockers. It is also highly considered in subcultural literature as it was a cultural signifier for punks, the most researched subcultural group. Tattooing is a statement, even with its proliferation in recent years it still has stereotypical baggage. It is, in this work, being associated with festival beautification because it is an act of permanently changing the body in protest to larger norms of what is allowed, expected and preferred in society. Much like beautification in music festivals, tattooing enebles a subversive body, that might be considered 'grotesque' (Bakhtin 1965). Inside a festival however, subversion is accepted and expected, demonstrating how young people can throw off social and cultural norms and create new ones.

The idea that young people's bodies are a site of resistance is considered by looking at the responses of young people at festivals, about how they felt empowered to dress, beautify or act in a way they would not act outside of the space. Synnott reflects on this process, 'Constructions reflect the values not only of the culture, but also of the sub-culture, and of the specific individuals, and they are ever-changing' (Synnott 1993:37). The

connection between freedom of dress, image, and the emotions that young people were expressing at festivals is now developed in the last section of this chapter.

3.4.4 Emotions, Senses and Self

Human senses take on a pivotal role when considering embodiment. The analysis of empirical ethnographic data was driven by an awareness of its multi-sensory nature and by a recognition that the sense of sight is often privileged, over touch, smell, hearing and taste. Festivals are a highly sensory hyper-space (Pink 2015), with this in mind it is important to map out the ways in which the body is experienced in multi-sensory ways, in the analysis chapter on Self the sense of touch and tactility will be considered in relation to the creation of beautification. An exploration of literature about the body provides an important springboard to jump from to then discuss the self, as Synnott (1993) describes:

> The body social is many things: the prime symbol of the self, but also of the society; it is something we have, yet also what we are; it is both subject and object at the same time; it is individual and personal (Synnott 1993:4).

The body is a socially constructed entity, a mirror, as well as being shaped and sculptured by social and cultural factors it acts to highlight the type of society and culture it is formed in. Synnott (1993) coined the phrase the Body Social and it helps to understand the way young people are projecting a space and freedom through their appearance. The body holds up a mirror to the types of community and society that exist in festival spaces; a colourful, playful, hopeful and glittery youthful tribe. The festival constructed body has an impact on the young people's lived experiences, their emotions, their feelings about self and empowerment.

3.5 Conclusion

Festivals enable reflection by having the everyday routine disrupted and time given a new and different meaning, these concepts have been discussed in other sections but it is worth noting that reflection has consequences and one is enabling an internal dialogue about the self. The emotional impact of music festivals emerged through fieldwork and is less signposted in literature on subcultures. Emotions are often overlooked, or under researched (Davidson and Milligan 2004;Sharp 2009), in this work and in all the analysis chapters the concept of freedom is articulated, in different terms. The freedom of expression, freedom of behaviours, freedom from routine and social / cultural norms. However it is articulated, it is integral to the enjoyment and creativity that young people experience at music festivals. The emotional is also considered in relation to unity and trust, and how this solidifies community and solidarity. The space facilitates a hyper emotional response, that has implications on how young people are behaving and are able to create communities. The body, considerations of self, feelings and thoughts about the self and the construction of identities interrelate and co-create one another. The Self chapter will look at several ways in which young people are transforming themselves and the emotional impact this has.

This chapter has broken down and unpacked the theories and concepts that are drawn on in the final two fieldwork chapters. It was important to define how young people are constructed outside of festivals to understand the small ways they resist, re-organise and reassert power within, at the level of the self. It also enables a theoretical lens in which to see emergent spiritual behaviours and explain why young people are returning to ideas of spirituality at music festivals. Identities are being constructed and subverted at festivals and the ways this takes place, how it is personified and embodied is key to illustrating the nature of the festival community that is being created, what this community values and what this says about wider society will be explored in chapter eight.

4.

Chapter Four – Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters examined the critical schools of thought that informed this study. Two key issues raised by the literature identified gaps in current research into young people and music festivals which can be addressed by careful research design. One issue relates to the position of young people within society and the disempowerment that occurs by their framing and representation by wider society. To address this my research design utilises participatory practice in both the research methods and analysis. A second issue was the representation of youth leisure spaces, specifically the image of music festivals. Therefore, visual methods were used alongside ethnography to reframe the space and provide empirical visual examples of what the space represented to young people. This chapter will outline how the research was designed. It will look at the history of the study and consider researcher positionality within the field. It articulates the philosophy behind the research, gives an overview of the festival sites and participants of the study, the methods of data collection and ethical considerations of the study. Finally, it outlines the data analysis that was carried out and limitations of the research design.

4.2 Philosophy – My Epistemological Approach

This research utilises a critical paradigm, drawing on critical theorists (Bauman 2000; Bakhtin 1965; Lefebvre 1991; Rose 1993; Blackman 205) to explore young people's

practices at music festivals. My theoretical perspective is a critical one informed by social/cultural. and geographical considerations of spatial and social phenomena and relationships. This work is a retelling of the narratives surrounding young people and music festivals informed by theory that seeks to highlight issues of representation, identity and belonging critically. Telling and exploring the narratives that young people are constructing at festivals was captured using the qualitative and visual methods outlined later in this chapter. Chapters two and three, examined the prevailing works on young people and my research design was created to capture some insights into the gaps highlighted, to explore young people's use of space and creation of community. The foundation to this design is an understanding that actions are inherently political and by offering an alternative perspective on music festivals, informed by empirical research, this work challenges the current prevailing perception of the space and the actions of the young people within it. The way in which my research frames knowledge and the understanding of social reality at festivals is informed by a critical tradition which conceptualises reality as socially constructed, influenced by power, structures and agency. Simultaneously these forces can be subverted through a re-negotiation by actors of power in the space. Reality is rooted in how we experience the 'here and now' (Berger 2015) and the space and society in which a person finds themselves. There is an active nature and inherent agency to those that inhabit spaces, therefore I am an active citizen in the research and in shaping the space, society and reality at music festivals. The reality of everyday life is organized around the 'here' of my body and the 'now' of my present. Music festival spaces will be contextualised to highlight the way they subvert and encourage alternative ways of being. This therefore effects the realities and conceptualisations of self from young people. The construction and processes that took place to produce knowledge in this work are inherently political as they highlight 0an alternative representation of young people and festival spaces.

4.2.1 Epistemology and Ontology

The stance and epistemological frame of this work considers reality as socially constructed, therefore, relational. A critical approach is a very large church, I understand it as challenging, being un passive and illuminating injustice and practices of oppression. This work has an unapologetic agenda to challenge perceptions and invites its reader to look at music festivals in a different light. Its approach and politics are drawn from dissident, sometimes anarchic, theories which maintain an overt desire to counteract and disrupt social controls over individual's expressions. The purpose of critical theory is to open out roots of enquiry, not close down knowledge construction. The approach critiques essentialist understandings of knowledge and is designed to break down hegemonic understandings and encourage alternative and emancipatory views to be explored.

There are dominant power structures that oppress and marginalise groups in society, this work explores the patterns and nature of music festival and young people to highlight the misrepresentations and foreground alternative narratives about the space. Power narratives and discourses permeate through our daily lives, festivals are moments of disruptions, this disruption is a mirror, shining a light on what ties and bondage exist outside of it and what happens in moments of disruption, in outbursts or 'inspirations' (Morgan 1983:150). As knowledge is socially constructed, it can change, it is fluid and shifts. It shifted in ways that I did not expect, in subtle ways this work demonstrated how co-constructed festival narratives challenge the misrepresentation of festivals and its attendees. Assemblage expands how this work conceptualises knowledge production, assemblages are an alternative concept to reality, a more nuanced, holistic and variable way of understanding how we can create multiple forms of reality, and equally, consider all forms of methods and knowledge construction. Festivals are spaces where assemblages, rather than 'reality', is a more appropriate frame. Assemblage considers alternative purposes for meaning making and advocates for a reconceptualisation of reality, one 'in

which truths and spiritualities and inspirations and politics and justices and aesthetics are variously woven together and condensed at particular moments, and partially separated at others' (Morgan 1983:151). A picture of what is going on that is based on bottom up processes and which sees the multiplicity of actions, interrelationships and 'mess' between actors as emancipatory.

My approach is informed experientially, having highlighted an issue this work developed to explore the way that this issue could be challenged. To do this it drew from a range of methods, in a pragmatic way. Although best described as emerging pragmatically, responding to the context and needs of participants, it does not conform to a pragmatist approach (Stanley 2005; Putnam 1981) in the philosophical and classical sense of the word. Rather, it has drawn on a range of qualitative and creative methods that have been appropriate for the context. Knowledge and the methods that informed it was emergent, responsive to how young people wanted to represent their thoughts about festivals. In keeping with a pick and mix response to methods, and a desire to seek positive practice, this work has drawn from multiple disciplinary alcoves that present concepts, theories, methods or ways of knowing that illuminates the space.

Knowledge generated in this study has been produced in context, developed using a pick and mix of methods to shed light on festival reality. Music festivals embody the perfect landscape for messy method, as reality is socially produced, the context becomes integral to its production. The knowledge produced in an already discursive, confused and subversive space encourages a post-structural and critical approach to understanding it. Festivals, at heart, are spaces of subversion, chaos, mess, colour and entanglements. This study had to look in many directions to capture theories that would do justice to the space. The end game of the approach of this study was to create a map to explore the landscape. It was not to project reality, but further understanding about the space, it was designed to explore. At the centre there was a desire to know more. Knowledge was constructed in the

festival space, an important element to this research design and the construction of knowledge. Answers had to emerge when the participants were sitting in muddy fields, able to absorb, feel and emote about the space and what it meant to them at that moment. Theories have been constructed within a specific time and space for the advancement or to challenge a distinct set of dynamics. Therefore, not one label or domain will outline the modes of knowledge construction, rather a series of likeminded critical paradigms are drawn on, some more fringe than others to explore reality in a space that draws inspiration from the unreal.

4.2.2 Participatory Approach

Participatory approaches cut across disciplines and act as method, approach and ethos for exploring social issues with a co-operative and emancipatory lens. Participatory methods lend themselves to spatial considerations, where people's relationship with space and place are central (Pain 2004:653). This work has aligned with principles of participatory research naturally, to explore the social and spatial phenomena of festivals by engaging young people into the construction of the study. This took several forms and has embodied elements of participatory research, never claiming to be entirely participatory but openly desiring to be a political piece concerned with re-framing its participants and re-presenting using their own words and in ways they chose to present their place at festivals. Participants decided how they wanted to engage with this work, mapping originated from a group discussion at Beautiful Days Festival. Young people chose to provide insights through a range of qualitative methods or by engaging with me, sharing time with me at festivals which was subsequently explored as ethnography. Data, after initial analysis was also fed back to participants, allowing for participatory analysis.

Importantly, for the ethos of this research. was honesty, Jupp (2008) speaks openly about her experiences using participatory research with young people in public spaces,

highlighting the importance of reflexivity and the opportunities it brings for knowledge production. Jupp's work examines the space that moments and experiences in research can bring, specifically 'awkward' unforeseen times of silence from participants. The 'gaps' that occurred for me took place during participatory analysis, when young people did not have comments, or want to change their text. Initially I was concerned but after reflecting understood that the silence was a form of confirmation that I was right in my assumptions, and accurate in my representation of their voice. Uniting reflexivity, embodied experiences and participant voice tightly to participatory research has been important. This unity was one which this work attempts to produce, using double reflexivity (Blackman and Commane 2012) and a participatory approach it engaged young people into its make up by enabling them to shape its trajectory. The festivals that were explored were chosen based on where participants had identified that they were going into, I physically followed in their footsteps into festivals.

Participatory analysis was trickier than field methods, like Jupp's work (2008) this secondary involvement did not receive the results I was expecting, young people gave limited feedback and minimal engagement, but this was in itself an active decision and involvement. As Pain states: 'The messiness of participatory research is instructive and is itself informed by spatial contexts and processes' (Pain 2004: 2814). Festivals, tribes, relationships, the space and its processes are messy, an interesting acknowledgement from Pain (2004) is the identification of the blurred lines that can appear within participatory research 'blurring personal and professional lines and lives, and often involving reciprocal/caring roles' (660). As chapter eight explores there was a conflation of myself into the research, a blurred porous barrier between myself and the research and myself and the participants. Creating challenges, but I argue a richer understanding and knowledge of the lived experiences of the young people I was working with.

Participatory research in this work was a combination of participant led instruction, an ethos and an overtly political desire to represent the young people I worked with and challenge the perception of youth at festivals. I worked with them, included my voice through reflexive practice to create a messy and thick, empirical counter narrative of young people. My research incorporates participatory practice and methods, as noted above. It was a flexible design and dependant on what the participants wanted to, in many cases young people conducted more than one method.

The participatory nature of the study continued into the analysis, as noted earlier, amd young people were given back extracts of ethnography that they were part of, times that I was present with them and wrote about us. They were asked whether they felt it represented them accurately in the first instance; whether they wanted to change it? Whether they wanted to add anything? They were then shown the analysis and themes that had been elicited from the ethnography and asked again what they thought? Whether they disagreed or wanted to add anything. In most instances, the young people did not want to input anything but did by engaging with the data, reading it, sometimes reacting to it and allowing me to use it. They were happy with the representation and interested in the process between being in festivals and what I was then doing with the data. A point on the ontology that this study takes, it supposes that realities are socially constructed therefore are constantly changing and shifting according to power, so I understand that what was captured was a moment and subsequent analysis was informed by the data but also my interpretation. Despite this, it should be recognised that, whilst being participatory in nature, this study is still informed and shaped by my own ‘power’ as a researcher: my approach to knowledge and my context within the academy.

4.3 Methods of Data Collection

I drew on multiple qualitative methods of data collection created with an awareness of the need to make them fit for purpose in a festival context. As Marshall, et al points out, 'real research is often confusing, messy, intensely frustrating, and fundamentally nonlinear' (1999:21). The methodology that shaped my approach to data collection combines qualitative methods to construct a multi-layered data set that examines different dimensions of the case studies and allows the production of a visual display of the space through mapping.

4.3.1 Ethnography

My research is concerned with the organic process of sociality and spatiality in music festivals. Consequently, the observational methods I adopted were used to capture the complexity of space in a broader way than other qualitative methods. Observations were collated in note form in note books whilst travelling through the site. Participant observation and self-reflection took place every day during the time I was at festivals, double reflexivity was undertaken when outside the space and written up in note form separately. Photographs were taken to aid memory and to add a thicker understanding of the processes that took place, for instance the cohorts were photographed in situ, in music festivals with their signed permission. Please see the appendix for participant information and informed consent forms.

The study has at its base an emergent bottom up philosophy, therefore ethnography is appropriate because, I would argue, the thick observation enables a more accurate reflection of the world (Evans 2013:45). It is worth pointing out that all observation is selective and therefore, not completely accurate or unvarnished but by having an awareness and openness to complexity and subjectivity ethnography creates a holistic picture of reality. To clarify, ethnography, and within it reflexivity, enables for a more nuanced understanding of reality, 'over time the ethnography can check out his or her, understanding of the phenomena under study' (Hammersley et al. 1983:23). It enabled me

to build my own understanding of festival phenomena alongside participants, it required an internal and written communication with myself and a level of scrutiny, but the result was a thicker, if messier, construction of knowledge. This is the reason for choosing to use an ethnographic approach and participant observation, it acknowledged my position and place in the construction of knowledge in the field and at the same time did not consider it as detrimental. I was keen to embed my research in real world experience and participant observation which provides the opportunity to capture the experience of festival goers within the space. Ethnographic data can offer a keener insight into wider structural phenomena as it broadens the issues beyond the personal towards a wider spatial political scale. The sites and populations that my research is concerned with, festival space, is one important aspect influencing the choice of ethnographic research methods. To acquire information on festival processes and the behaviours within these spaces, clearly the most appropriate method to use is primary data collection conducted at the time of the festival.

Observational research captured the lived experience of participants in festival space, in a way that other approaches cannot illicit, by a combination of reflexivity and participant observation a dialogue is free to emerge which addresses motivations and emotions alongside what is being witnessed, critiqued and analysed about the lived reality of young people at music festivals. Gobo (2008) highlights the history of ethnographic research and how it emerged through a critique of human behaviour and a gap between motivations and behaviour, ‘A gap between what people say and do. Or their actions versus what they think a researcher wishes to hear’ (Gobo 2008:5). Ethnography seeks to address this gap by providing a method in which lived experience of participants can be collected and analysed. Robson argues that:

> As the actions and behaviour of people are a central aspect in virtually all real-world research, a natural and obvious technique is to watch what they do, to

> record this in some way and then to describe, analyse and interpret what we have observed (Robson 2011:315).

This study and its methods emerged bottom up, naturally and therefore as Robson articulated, ethnography is the obvious technique to use in a real world context.

Ethnographic observational techniques of data collection can also increase the trustworthiness of the data collected. It can capture a wider range of participant behaviour, and in so doing, offer the potential to elicit more representative findings than data sets collated through focus groups or other qualitative methods such as semi structured interviews. A wider frame of participants is incorporated in the study when ethnographic techniques are used. There are many advantages to using observational methods, however it is worth noting the limitations. Marshall, et al. (1999) expands on the issue of 'reactivity', the effect that the researcher has on the field in which they are working. Reactivity and the motivations that a researcher instils into the field does influence data, to what extend needs to be reflected on. Awareness about how our choices influence, and effect knowledge is important to consider, 'we need to ask whether we are able and willing to recognise that our methods also craft realities' (Morgan 1983:153). This is not a disadvantage, but it does require a longer reflection by the researcher concerning: their position within the field; how they may alter that space; and how this impacts on data captured. Using double reflexivity, this concern was minimised by a broader understanding of my place in the study.

Having used an ethnographic approach in my fieldwork I actively co-created space alongside young people and engaged in the same practices of being and living in the space as them. Go alongs[21] (Pink 2008a) and practices that engaged me in the lived practices of young people was an element that my ethnography embodied. Pink focuses on eating as

[21] An immersive practice in ethnography that involved engaging in activities with participants, doing as they would and involving movement through space.

a practice of living as, and with participants exploring how this practice uncovers the hidden ethnography in the field and recognises the small acts that foster relationships in the field (2008). My study involved a close relationship with my cohorts, we ate together and shared camping space. The study involved shared activities, friendships, movement and traversing festival spaces alongside other festival goers that meant that I was an actor in the processes of space making, as well as a researcher collating information, I was co-constructing knowledge through practice. The research depended on moments of active engagement in the space and with young people; sharing living spaces, experiences, food, activities and play. The creation of the walking maps involved a process of traversing the space with young people and the static maps involved an imagined walk through and a dialogue about space. Pink (2008b) expands on the process of walking with, or go along in social research, to add that the researcher is an actor in co-creating place making by walking the routes with the participant. The sensory and emotional corresponding effects of living alongside participants is highlighted as an undervalued product of ethnography. The ‘go along’ (Kusenbach 2003) was a distinctively different way to construct knowledge. Go along’s with my participants turned into a practical, emotional and social interaction, practically it facilitated trust between myself and the cohorts I identified. It was an emotional experience that helped me to construct relationships with young people and socially it uncovered the relationship young people had with nature and space at music festivals. A final consideration to the ‘go along’ was the meaningful co-living I took part in, reflections of the ways I co-lived have been included as empirical data, ethnography has been used as a method but also embodied as an approach, recognising the messiness of the field and how this is an advantage when uncovering lived experiences at music festivals.

4.3.2 Open Ended Questionnaires

I designed questionnaires to identify the motivations of young people’s participation at music festivals and what aspects for them were the most important about the space, the

questionnaires were self-completed. It was chosen as a method as it enabled me to collate a large number of responses, across a variety of aspects of festival spaces in a short period of time. Time was an interesting construct at festivals, which chapter five picks up, it facilitated a high participant response amongst young people at festivals. During my pilot questionnaires in 2014 the theme of nature was a recurring concern on the part of participants and so nature became an important theme within the questionnaires in the subsequent year's questionnaires. This took the form of a question about camping, a focus on tents and camping emerged highlighting and indicating a relationship with nature therefore, camping questions were added: *Are you weekend camping? If so, why did you choose to camp?, What are the best / worst aspects of camping?* The questionnaires also centred on the differences that young people experienced inside and out of festivals. To identify if there were processes and elements at music festivals that young people did not experience outside, to capture what kind of space music festivals embodied for them relative to the outside. The questionnaire had open ended questions with large spaces for free-written responses, the questionnaires framed questions relating to how young people felt and behaved at music festivals and where constructed to be open to interpretation enabling young people to comment and flag the important aspects for them, doing so highlights the facilitation of a bottom up approach where emergent ideas about space and behaviour came out. The questionnaires are in the appendix of this work.

Often young people did multiple methods, choosing to do more than one methods, doing mapping alongside questionnaires. For instance young people held discussions whilst their friends filled in questionnaires, or on three occasions I asked the questions from the questionnaires and wrote down the answers of the young people. The major limitation turned out to be an opening for the research design. The lack of room on the questionnaires meant that another form and type of method was required.

4.3.3 Mapping

From open ended questionnaires I developed the idea of using visual methods and mapping emerged as a research idea in the second year of fieldwork. Space had emerged as a theme in the ethnography in the first year, also the questionnaires showed that young people were keen to be visual in the way they were describing festival spaces. The first 'imagined map' was created at Beautiful Days Festival amongst a group of five young people, I had talked with them whilst they had filled out questionnaires and they were keen to continue the conversation after they had finished. They were chatting and debating about what it was about festivals that kept them coming each year. I asked the question 'what would your perfect festival look like?' and brought out a blank piece of a4 paper and a pen. I always carried a pen and paper for writing notes or just in case it was needed. The map they drew took almost an hour and was produced between them all, negotiated and written in collaboration and amongst an ongoing debate within the group. I have only a photograph of the first map that was created, the group wanted to keep hold of the original.

Figure 3 Imagined Map, 27, 26, 26, 24 and 22 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015, B.

They were proud of the map they had created, perhaps because of the conversation that accompanied it, perhaps it was a memento of the festival and the friends that had contributed? Or because they had created an emotional attachment to the map as it was made between friends and in a meaningful space, they felt connected to. I did not ask why and gave it to them without hesitation but made sure I took photos for my own record. Maps were kept by participants who wanted them, artefacts of research are the objects of those that created them, and the purpose of research meant that to be witness to the co-construction of data, conversations and social bonding was beneficial for knowledge construction, as much as the product of methods.

The ‘imagined map’ was one way visual and creative methods were used, the second was another form of mapping. It involved mapping onto the outline of a festival map. The festival maps, were festival site maps that are circulated online and in program books to help attendee’s find their way around the festival site. I used the maps to elicit how young people were using the space, where they were camping, where they liked/ disliked. This was to establish the ways young people were traversing space and making them consider the spatial aspects of festivals and the effect the space was having on their experience. The maps were sourced through the festival websites and were from previous years as the new ones didn’t appear until the festival started, which would have been too late to print off copies for use. I provided young people with the questionnaires, festival maps and blank paper to do imagined maps and allowed them to choose which way they wanted to engage with the study.

A limitation to using both questionnaires and maps was the weather, the rain made it difficult to use paper. There were occasions when the method was saved with tea tents and shelter but most of the time the method had to be abandoned until it stopped raining or dry space was found.

4.3.4 Cohorts

Three cohorts were identified from the first year of festival research, the first cohort was in Southampton and was created from Glastonbury festival 2014. The second was based in Bristol and was created at Bestival 2014. Through snowball sampling methods these consisted of eight people in Southampton and six in Bristol. The final cohort was also created at Bestival in 2014 and the participants are spread out in the country. The choice of fieldwork sites in 2015 was informed by where these cohorts were going.

In 2015 the fieldwork comprised of four festival sites; Glastonbury Festival, Bloodstock Open Air Festival, Beautiful Days Festival and Shambala Festival. Four participants from cohort one were followed through three of the four festivals in the second year of fieldwork and interviewed, both walking and in situ, about their perception of the festivals and whether their behaviour and attitudes changed within them. I formed close relationships with the cohorts I met, I caught up with them after the festival season had ended to be able to continue to build relationships. I travelled to Bristol three times, twice to see the 'Honey Badgers' and once to see the 'Glitter and Glow Sticks'. I met up with the 'Oxfamily[22]' again in festivals and outside the following year in 2016. As Blackman (1998) articulates:

> If the researcher's identity as 'researcher' fades over time and they become an accepted part of the group studied, this shows how successful the approach has been and how both the researched and the researcher become one (235).

The relationships brought in depth and unique insights, they engaged me in an active creation of knowledge and encouraged a critical evaluation of the social and personal

[22] The pseudonyms or tribe names were created at festivals, Honey Badgers by the author – see Chapter 8 for more details. Oxfamily already existed amongst Oxfam volunteers and Glitter and Glow Sticks was a name based on how I met the initial member at Glastonbury 2014, see Chapter 8 for more details.

processes that were taking place within the group, adding a deeper, experiential element to the data. However, it brought with it a series of ethical considerations.

4.4 Account of Research

My initial approach to primary research was exploratory. During the first phase of my fieldwork in 2014, I identified the most effective means of engaging with, and understanding, the ways young people were socialising and using the festival space. The methods were not fixed but inductive and were re-thought in the field in response to the data that was collated. During the first year of fieldwork, questionnaires were used and participant observation. After initial thematic analysis of the data the questions were changed and new ones added, please see appendices for the questionnaires that were used. In the second year of fieldwork, I adopted a visual approach to data collection (Pink 2014). The choice to use visual methods and utilise creative methods of map making with young people developed after the first year of fieldwork. Young people were doodling and drawing on the questionnaires I had collated in 2014: they were drawing answers to the questions or doodling on the back of the questionnaires. It struck me that there were elements of festival spaces which could not be captured in words that young people wanted to communicate. Therefore, in 2015 map drawing methods were offered as a method that young people could articulate festivals through. Firstly, I asked young people to draw on blank festival maps to indicate the spaces they used and to reflect on their movement around the festival site. Secondly, I invited young people to create their own imagined festival, depicting their perfect space and what it would include. These methods developed organically and inductively, in response to my fieldwork experience. This approach was motivated by my commitment to adopt a flexible approach to fieldwork, which could be amended in response to changing circumstances. This was to ensure that young people

could express themselves in the ways they wanted to. The methods were a result of reflection on my initial approach, both inside, outside, before and after the music festivals.

The fieldwork was an emergent practice, which evolved to respond to changing circumstances in the festival space. One example of my emergent practice relates to my use of mapping, which I noted above. It became clear that young people were subverting the questionnaires by drawing on them. Talking while they were filling them out, some young people wanted to express more than the questionnaire allowed while others were doodling on them and drawing pictures alongside writing. There was clearly a desire on the part of some young people to present their festival experience visually. Furthermore, my provisional conclusion affirmed that the festival space itself was becoming an important theme to explore further. I had done an initial thematic analysis after the first year of fieldwork, as the research design was an iterative process, and I wanted to capture more about how young people were creating space, constructing space and taking ownership of space as it had emerged from the ethnography. Therefore, the use of festival maps was a good way to capture the how they understood the space and gave some structure to guide a conversation on how they conceptualised their place at music festival spaces.

4.5 Researcher Positionality

Self-awareness and positionality are important reflection techniques that researchers should consider when undertaking research, it frames and contextualises the motivations behind the research. Positionality provides a voice to the motivations and actions that shape and influence the research, as Denzin reflects, ‘Interpretive research begins and ends with a biography and self of the researcher’ (1986:12). It is important to be aware and critically evaluate my position, actions, motivations and processes. Reflexivity addresses these issues, there is a need for emotions alongside position and reflexivity also. Emotional

responses to the field have been written into this work through an ethnographic approach and re-considered in the process of double reflexivity (Blackman and Commane 2012).

My positionality was complex during this work. Most of the participants were my age, or slightly younger, being a similar age proved to be an advantage when I contacted potential participants, my age allowed for young adults to feel comfortable with me, made me feel comfortable approaching them and facilitated conversations. Gender was also a consideration, I went into the field as a lone female researcher, and therefore, had to consider the effect this had on the approaches I made to young people and the relationships I created at festivals. There was one occasion, not with a young person or a participant, where I was in some danger. I put into practice safeguarding techniques and had my own transport in and out of festivals from then onwards so I was not reliant on others. I was propositioned on another occasion by a participant and negotiated politely, asserted my position as a researcher and explained that I would not take the relationship we had developed as researcher and participant any further, this was acceptable to him, and the incident caused no further problem. It was always important to write myself into this work, my position and that of my participants was an important consideration which needs writting into research practice (McDowell 1992:409).

As a festival goer and peer, I am subjective. As a researcher, I have tried to stay objective. However, drawing on standpoint theory (Harding 2004) I have acknowledged how my construction of knowledge and viewpoints are socially constructed by experience, which has been influential in the development of this project as I have a history in the space. This study has been a self-reflexive (Alvesson et al. 2017) experience, my reflexivity did not overshadow or assert myself as the only voice in this piece or creator of knowledge but added clarity and another layer to the empirical data and participant voices. It was designed to create thick description to generate experiential, empirical knowledge that is understood in context, witnessed through a social science gaze. My gaze and understanding are built on a foundation of my own experience; therefore, it is important to highlight the ways I

influence this study as a researcher. One way in which this is apparent is through my relationship with the field. The fieldwork was an active process and changed as I did. It was peer research, and I considered myself as a peer when I began this work and came to see that I had not been, but came to be by the end. I was more engaged in music festivals than I had been in years, even though I have been going to festival since the age of 14 it was through the process of the research that I came to a new understanding of the space and the people in it. It was important to be overt about my purpose and research to conduct the ethnography with visibility. It enabled a distance that well balanced and offset my insider position. My own reflection became integral to how I as a researcher, understood the social phenomena that were taking place. As a peer researcher, I gained valuable insights. I was accepted and not seen as 'out of place'. When I approached groups of young people I was welcomed with curiosity but never caution or apprehension. I was engaging with people of my own age, or slightly younger, and therefore collecting data felt natural, easy going and informal. It is worth noting the rapport I had while in the field is shown in the results, on multiple occasions I was brought into groups of young people, or what I called 'festival families'. As Blackman (1998) considers in his work, 'In ethnography friendship can move beyond the field through shared experience and equal participation' (1998:235).

I become part of the space and its community, an illustration was of this was that only four people out of 140 declined when asked to fill out questionnaires, only 2.86 % of those asked. Take up rates were very high as was the level of trust between myself and participants, reflected in the ethnography, due to my demeanour, honesty and openness about my motivations.

My background as a geographer made me hyper-aware of how space affects social activity (Skelton and Valentine 1998) which subsequently informed the focus for the participant observation. I have been influenced by geographies of resistance (Pickerill et al. 2014) and the processes that marginalise young people. Subsequently, my background has encouraged me to look for the alternative, counter cultural and sometimes everyday

resistance (De Certeau 1984) that can emerge from young people in the face of oppressive structures. Another focus are the ways creative endeavours, as resistance from young people or other marginalised groups, can be overlooked, trivialised, undervalued or misrepresented. The desire to research young people and their activities came from experiences I had working with youth offenders and because I was still relatively young myself. Insights that can be gained as a peer in the field are important. I can relate to participants and the space differently and I wanted to take the chance while I was young enough to relate to young people and their narratives.

To return to reflexivity and its importance in this study, it was a necessity to incorporate reflexivity while undertaking ethnography but also as a practice throughout this work. Doyle discusses the moment to moment reflexivity that needs to take place alongside the broader reflexive practice that is weaved within a study (2012). The moment to moment reflexive practice I engaged with took the place of field notes within the field which concentrated on my place and position as a researcher. This involved both reflexivities about the practice of fieldwork and how it informed and connected with the wider critical stance of the work. It required engagement beyond the field alone. The concept of double reflexivity was useful, it drew out deeper and more nuanced understanding from the field. Blackman and Commane (2012) developed the concept, it articulates that there is a necessity to continue the reflexive process beyond its initial conduction within the field, it is a continual process to elicit new understandings that form knowledge as our perception changes before, during and after fieldwork. Reflection, therefore, is a continual way of doing research.

4.6 Key Research Sites and Assistants

This study represents empirical fieldwork undertaken at ten festivals over three years. However, several festivals were attended consecutively in 2014, 2015 and 2016. The

festivals were; Glastonbury 2014, Shambala 2014, Bestival 2014, Glastonbury 2015, Bloodstock 2015, Beautiful Days 2015, Shambala 2015, Glastonbury 2016, Secret Garden Party 2016 and Shambala 2016. My access to Glastonbury Festival was dependant on working at it the year previously, it is a very hard festival to access; either by buying tickets or by working. So, when the opportunity arose I had to maintain my access through working each year to ensure entry the next year.

The target festivals for my research were the Glastonbury Festival in Somerset, Bloodstock Open Air Festival at Catton Park in Derbyshire, Beautiful Days Festival at Escot Park in Devon and Shambala Festival at Kelmarsh Estate in Northamptonshire. These sites were chosen because they were festivals which the participants, from 2014 pilot questionnaires conducted at music festivals (Glastonbury, Shambala & Besitval) identified as those which they were going back into in 2015. Bloodstock festival was chosen because I had gained access the previous year and it was a smaller festival with a distinctive genre of music, whilst the other festivals provided a range of genre's, Bloodstock specifically had heavy thrash metal artists. I was intrigued to find out whether the social and spatial phenomena experienced at larger, musically broader festivals was also occurring at Bloodstock, or if the young people in the tighter heavy metal subculture were engaged in different ways with one another and the space. To conclude access and site selection was based on a combination of participatory practice and practical solutions.

During the second year of fieldwork I was supported by two research assistants who I brought into the festival space free of charge and who received no other reimbursement. Following a back injury in my first year of fieldwork I requested help to enable me to physically get in and out of the space. The assistants' role was to accompany me, but they took no part in the data collection. However, both research assistants gave me written reflections on their festival experience, acting as participants and assistant. This innovation was introduced following a conversation with research assistant B, who had never been to

a music festival before, I found her reflections interesting so asked if she could write them up. I subsequently asked my second assistant to do the same. Their reflections are considered in this work and are cited as B, R.A and P, R.A. I used assistants for only two festivals out of ten, Shambala 2015 and Bloodstock 2015.

4.6.1 Access and Research Assistants: P and B

The first year's fieldwork was conducted alongside a volunteering job at music festivals. Volunteering gave me access in the form of a festival ticket in exchange for 24 hours of work over the weekend. This is how I gained access to music festivals and it enabled me to be on site before the public. Volunteering was hard work and included an 8 hour shift that went through the night, midnight till 8 am. During this season I compacted a disc in my back due to carrying weight on public transport in and out of festival sights. So, the following summer I gained funding to buy festival tickets to enter as an ordinary paid punter. This was funded by my university research centre. They also funded a second ticket for an assistant in 2015 to two festivals, Bloodstock and Shambala because of my back injury. I got assistance at Bloodstock festival and Shambala 2015, by two friends, B and P. They did not help me collect any data but helped me on and off sight, however, I did ask them to write me a reflective written piece after the festival. These have made it into my data and analysis as P and B. Gaining access in multiple forms; working and as a paid attendee ad on my own or with another, ended up adding an interesting depth to my ethnography. Although practical considerations at the time they worked to broaden the scope of my experiences, reflected in my ethnography throughout this work.

Table 1 Access and Research Support

Festival	Glastonbury 2014	Shambala 2014	Bestival 2014	Glastonbury 2015	Bloodstock 2015	Beautiful Days 2015	Shambala 2015	Glastonbury 2016	Shambala 2016	Secret Garden Party 2016
Access	Volunteer CW	Volunteer O	Volunteer O	Volunteer CW	Ticket Paid P Assistance	Volunteer O	Ticket Paid B Assistance	Volunteer CW	Volunteer O	Volunteer L

* O, CW and L stand for charities that I volunteered for, they will not be named and have no affiliation with this work or its outcomes.

Table 1 outlines the festivals attended, how I gained access and whether I had research assistant support. The gate keepers and the subsequent ways that I accessed festivals was influential to this work, I am very grateful to have been able to see both sides of music festivals; the production side, its workers and volunteers, as well as paid festival goers. It enabled me to see and experience both roles and added a diversity to this research. I worked as a volunteer for three charities, O, CW and L. These are not named as they have no affiliation to this study acting only as practical gate keepers, I exchanged roughly 24 hours of work for each of the festivals I attended for O, CW and L.

4.7 Ethics

Ethics was a continual process considered before, during and after the main body of fieldwork. This section outlines the ways ethics were negotiated in the field and how I reflected and internalised researcher ethics.

A further consideration when using observational techniques was the ethical issues that occur. Festival spaces have young people some under 18 years old taking part in risky behaviours; consumption of illegal drugs and under-age drinking. It is the nature of festival space that these activities take place, a concept explored in chapter eight. As a researcher it was essential to set out boundaries, to protect the participants and myself during

fieldwork. There are instances where I have taken out questionnaires from young people who on completion have been under the age of 18 and so I removed these from the study. By first using observational data in festival space it allowed me the opportunity to collect other forms of data that were appropriate following first stage analysis.

Blackman (1998) reflectively considers risk, risk to oneself in environments where normative behaviours are alternative and are potentially risky to the participants. Mitigating risk to the participants is considered in this study by anonymising participants, across all forms of data collected and no identifying descriptions are used in the ethnography. During my study drug taking was a common practice amongst two of the three cohorts and was visible amongst the general festival population, it was also evident and remarked on in the questionnaires. I developed an empathy and trust with the cohorts I engaged with, this meant that they felt comfortable engaging in all aspects of their usual activities at music festivals which included a relaxed attitude to drug taking. Drug taking was not the primary facilitating process for constructions of space, solidarity or spirituality, therefore is not considered until chapter eight when it is discussed in relation to the festival body and self. Blackman reflects that, ‘danger cannot always be applied automatically to youth subcultures because there are specific measures and etiquettes within the sites which structure behaviour.’ (1998:234). At no point in this study did I think that anyone was in danger during the times I was witness to illegal activity, reflecting on this I feel it was because I was aware of the cultural norms around drug use and their etiquettes therefore illegal drug taking activities were not times or moments of danger, for myself or the participants in the study.

4.7.1 Disclosure

It was important to disclose to my participants that I was conducting fieldwork. I conducted overt research and was honest about the motives and aim of the study. I made all the data

anonymous by giving initials to the mapping and giving names to the cohorts, never referring to anyone by their real names. Anonymising the questionnaires led to young people being free to be able to honestly answer, for instance young people admitted that a positive aspect of festivals for them was drugs and drinking. By anonymising the questionnaires, it meant young people had the confidence to be honest in their replies without fear of reprisals.

4.7.2 Leaving the Field

One ethical and emotional consideration that I had not anticipated was the impact of leaving the field, it was an overly emotional time, the data collection meant that I was often sleep deprived enhancing an already emotional stage of fieldwork. It was also an extreme social environment, leaving the field and the community had an emotional impact on me as a researcher, I have referred to this in later chapters as the ‘festival comedown’ and it was something that became easier in the second year of fieldwork however, I still had to take care of myself for several days after the festival to recuperate.

I conducted ethnography alongside peer research, I embedded myself in the landscape which brought its own ethical implications. The space was temporal therefore leaving it did not leave an ongoing, or established community as everyone left at the same time. We were brought together for a limited time; however, I did feel emotional bonds with participants, especially the cohorts who I kept in touch outside of the space. I allowed this to take place and it enabled me to follow my cohorts into future festivals but it did mean going to their homes between festivals to continue contact. The emotional impact on the young people in my study was complex, for the majority it was a questionnaire or map and became another festival memory. Everyone got a card with details if they wanted to contact me to discuss the study or remove their data. It also included another contact of my supervisor in case they wished to talk to someone else. For some involved in the cohorts I have not ‘left’, I have continued contact. I have professional boundaries but also consider

the connection with them beyond that of the researcher and researched and therefore feel it is appropriate to maintain contact and friendships.

Young people have investment in this study and since data collection I am often reminded of their input. Several participants are keen to know when this work will be completed and when they can read it, some have demanded that their data is put in this thesis, jokingly they get excited at the thought of their writing or response being included in a book.

4.8 Data Analysis

4.8.1 Participatory Data Analysis

I wanted to include young people throughout the research design and have their input in the data analysis. I was able to do this with six young people from the Honey Badgers festival 'family'. I had kept in contact, so I was able to ask for their involvement following fieldwork and after initial analysis. After thematic analysis of the ethnography I sent young people anonymised extracts of events where they were present along with the themes that I had pulled out and started to unpack. I asked for two types of feedback. Firstly, I asked them individually whether they agreed with the ethnography, my initial observations in the field, or whether they wanted to add or challenge anything. The second piece of feedback was based on the analysis that I had drew from my ethnographic observations. I asked for their comments on both aspects and invited them to suggest any changes they wanted to see. I asked whether they agreed with the account? And whether they agreed with the coding and analysis I had drawn out from the original observations. There were two challenges at this stage of my participatory practice. The first was that it took time, it took a long time for the young people involved to respond to my emails. I would have given whole analysis chapters back to the young people to comment on and reflect on but again there was not time to do this. It would also involve me creating and drawing up lines

between knowledge makers if I had given whole analysis chapters over to the participants and this is the second issue. There is a contention between myself as someone reading and seeking appropriate knowledge and this shaping my interpretation and young people who are looking on a small aspect of the analysis and interpreting it through their perspective. I felt it was appropriate to get their feedback on the moments that they were witness to and involved in, however not the whole piece.

4.8.2 Emerging Themes in the Data

The festival maps highlighted space, spirituality, solidarity and self. Young people visually represented multiple scales; the micro, meso and marco on the festival maps, whilst the imagined maps provided an insight into the spiritual and individual impact of the space. The questionnaires elicited information about nature, in particular camping. Nature transcends several analysis chapters and appeared in all types of data. The mapping enabled space to emerge as an integral theme, which was then expanded and developed through the ethnography. The fieldwork chapters were developed through the ethnography and a dialectic conversation, enabled through an iterative research process that meant that themes were informed by my ethnography and subsequently the second year's research questions on the questionnaires.

4.9 Fieldwork Data and Participants

The table below sets out an overview of the data collected, identifying the festival sites along with the types of data. It was important to represent the diversity of data as it was not collected equally, some festivals enabled for mapping, while others encouraged more questionnaires. The weather put a stop to much data collection at times. The questionnaires came to an end at saturation point after the second year of field.

Table 2 Fieldwork Data

Year	Music Festival	Dates	Cohorts	Questionnaires	Imagined Maps	Festival Maps	No. of photos	Days of Participant Observation
2014	Glastonbury	22nd June -1st July	G.G	12			93	10
	Shambala	20th – 25th August	H.B	14			174	6
	Bestival	2nd – 8th September	H.B & O	12			149	7
2015	Glastonbury	21st – 30th June	H.B	13		12	210	10
	Bloodstock Open Air	6th – 10th August		31	1	15	142	5
	Beautiful Days	20th – 24th August	H.B	19	1		66	5
	Shambala	27th – 31st August	H.B & G.G	42		5	128	5
2016	Glastonbury	19th – 28th June	H.G & O	0			133	10
	Secret Garden Party	20th – 24th July		0			58	5
	Shambala	25th – 29th August	H.B & G.G	0	3		133	5
Total	10 Festivals		3 cohorts	143	11 *	31	1286	68

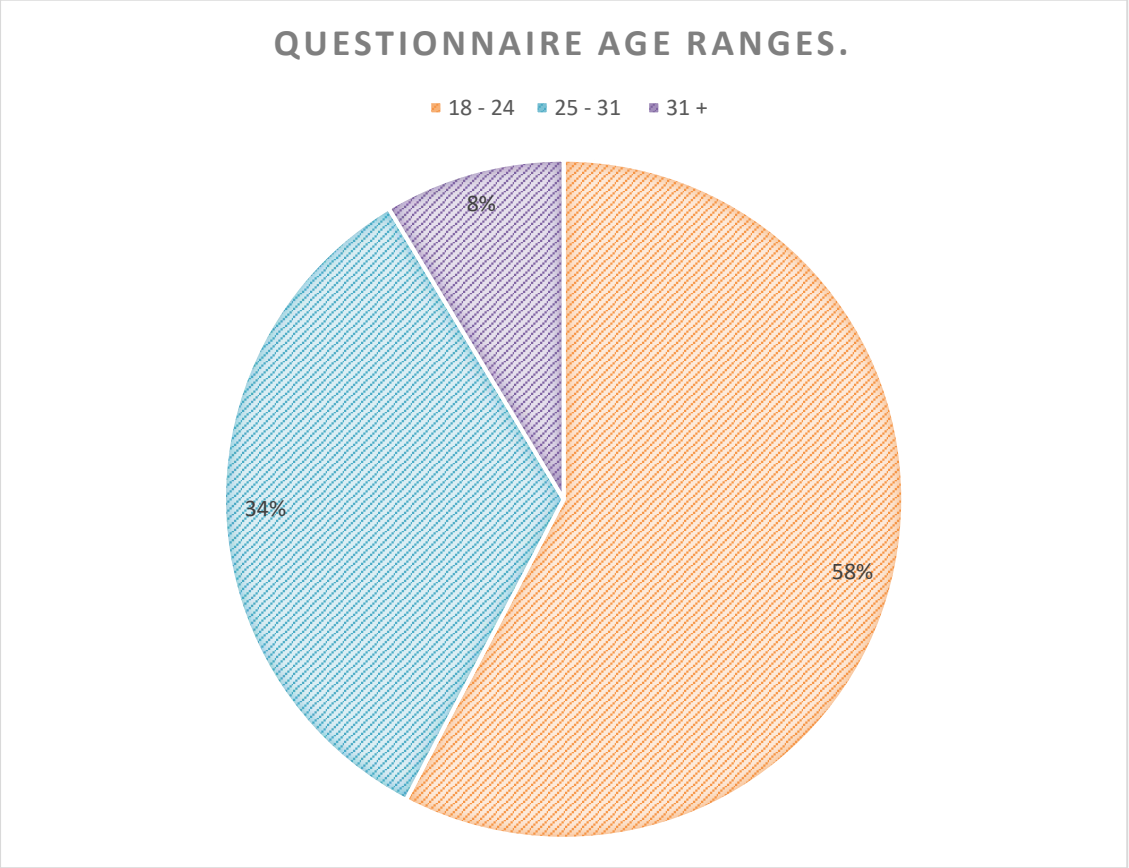
*There were 11 imagined maps created but as discussed in 4.6.3 several were kept my participants.

Key: H.B – Honey Badgers, G.G – Glitter and Glow Sticks, O – Oxfamily.

4.9.1 Participants

The questionnaires made up the largest number of responses at 140, this section will outline the demographics of those that took part. The median age of the participants was 19 years old, making it the most common age of participants, however the mean provides a clearer average of age. The mean was 26.7 years old, a large difference suggesting that although the most common age was 19 years old the older festival goers in their mid-20's made up a larger percentage overall.

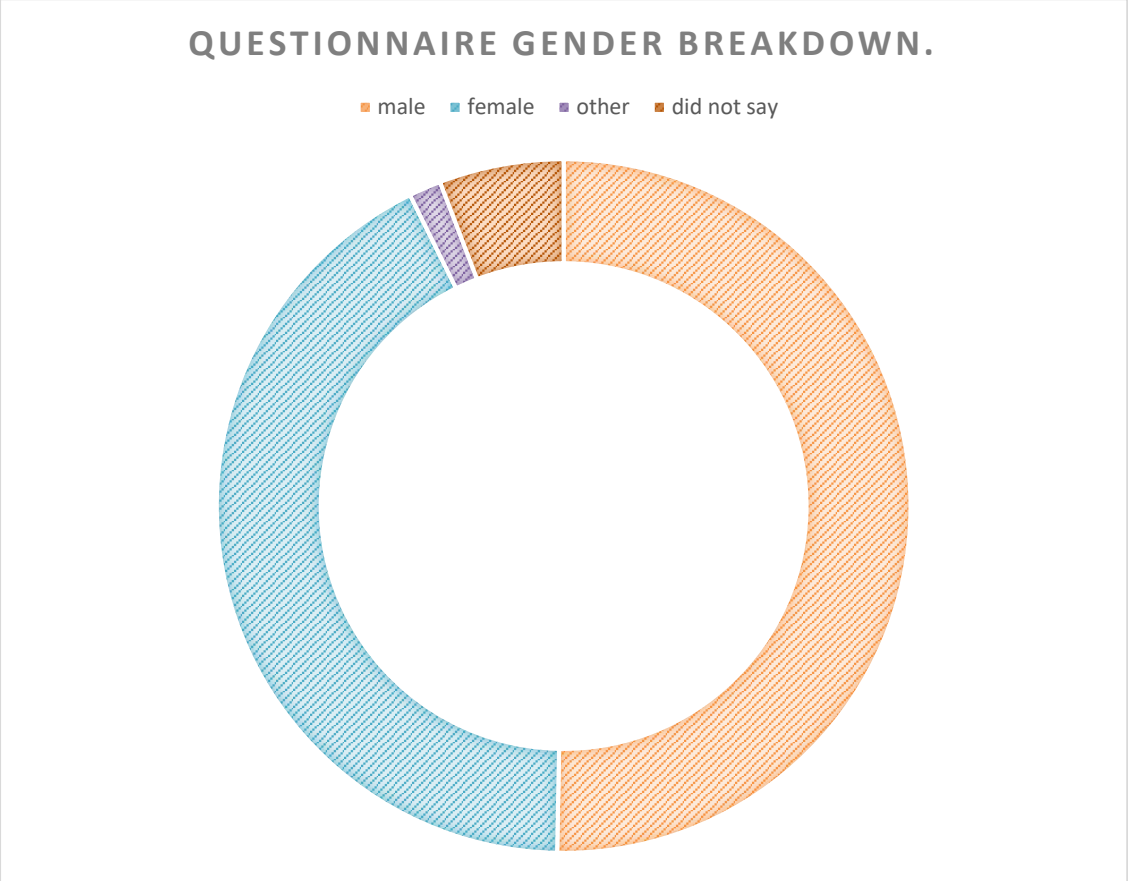
Table 3 Questionnaire Age Breakdown



As you can see from table three, 18 - 24 year olds made up 58 % of the study, 25 – 31 year olds made up 34% while 31 + made up 8%. The oldest participant in the study was 35 years old but as you can see most people questioned were between 18 – 31, with just over half between 18 – 25 years old.

Gender Breakdown at festivals was almost equal, young people identifying as male made up 50.3%, and those identifying as female made up 42.4%. 1.5 % identified as other, and 5.8 % did not say but left that question on the questionnaire blank.

Table 4 Questionnaire Gender Breakdown



4.10 Conclusion

The overarching emergent, bottom up approach to the fieldwork offered the opportunity to follow the natural path of research: observational methods were used initially as part of a pilot research gathering exercise. I maintained a flexible approach and the methods I chose were data led, rather than theory led to create knowledge through research rather than testing a hypothesis out on participants. The participants in this study were consciously

placed as near centre as possible, they had a choice of methods, could pick and choose how they wanted to respond and had the ability to feedback in the early stages of analysis. The methods were emergent and therefore came with a unique set of challenges. These challenges were overcome with a flexibility and the creative response of multiple mapping methods. Given that the time and space was temporal I was pleased to have gathered such varied and visual data that captured elements of the space through young people's voices and drawings. The blend of methods suited the ever-changing environment and young people were invested in the process of knowledge construction, demonstrated by the large take up and enthusiasm to take part.

5.

Chapter Five - Space

5.1 Introduction

Space emerged as a key theme in the empirical data I gathered during fieldwork, specifically from the mapping techniques described in the previous chapter and from my ethnographic observations. Festival spaces have a different purpose, understanding of time and social and cultural norms than wider society. These elements combine to create counter cultural space and because of this they have been represented as unproductive spaces. This chapter assesses how young people at music festivals are constructing counter cultural social space and how the space in turn shapes alternative, counter cultural practices amongst young people.

Space has been conceptualised and been a focus for geographers for many years. Recent geographical literature has considered space and youth in terms of the displacement of young people from space; on young people's lack of access to urban, public spaces (Harvey 2012; Aitken 2001; Valentine 1997), and conversely, their 'domination' of urban spaces and the moral panics that have arisen around them (Pain 2001; Jayne et al, 2006; Millie 2008). As music festivals are neither urban or rural, a discussion about the role of nature is highlighted as it relates to the hybrid elements of festival space and needed if we are to understand the impact that space has on young people's ideas about solidarity, self and spirituality.

Space has been widely theorised, attention in this chapter is paid to Lefebvre's work on the construction of social space with specific reference to his multi-levelled understanding of space as perceived, conceived and representational, alongside Bey's

ideas about Temporal Autonomous Zones (TAZ). This discussion, when informed by an understanding of liminal spaces, which exist outside of normal temporal emotional and spiritual spaces, will help to frame our understanding of the festival space. Spatial theory focuses on the construction of social space and the ways it can facilitate counter cultural types of behaviour which redefine space as hybrid, temporal and the site for creativity. Given the overwhelming focus on research into urban space this thesis breaks new ground by focusing our gaze on young people's creation of social space in the hybrid, rural festival context.

Literature using festivals as case studies has portrayed space in bounded terms, concentrating analysis of what takes place within the physical space, without wider consideration of how the space is not fixed. My work presents the festival context as nuanced and porous. Conceptualisations of space at festivals is multiple and contradictory, although festivals sites are highly constructed, fenced and controlled they are also porous. An engagement with Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the representational nature of space illuminates how the fixed, bounded space reflects relationships of power. Therefore, this chapter demonstrates how constructed festival space is being subverted and altered by young festival goers, who are asserting and changing space through their active engagement and reassertion of their own agency. Young people's physical distortion of festival spaces will be considered, and their social shaping of space will be explored in more detail in chapter six.

Festivals are a porous space, a concept which I explore further in chapter eight. The festival community, behaviour and spirit transcends the temporal festival spaces and leaks into the outside, beyond the festival and into young people's everyday lives. This chapter sets out the ways young people are using space and discusses the ways their use of space is shaping how they create community and a sense of solidarity. I also argue that in a festival context space is re-imagined in spiritual ways: a suggestion that will be explored in more detail in chapter seven.

To make this argument I discuss the co-construction of space in a music festival and the way the festival is subverted by young people. I then go on to consider the role that nature plays in the experience of the festival for young people. Finally, I synthesise these themes and analyse the purpose of the space and the perception and reality of a 'play' space at festivals.

5.2 Constructed and Bounded Space

To understand how young people are subverting space it is important to consider the constructed space of a festival. Much of the literature focused on UK music festivals considers them in a constricted and contained way, focusing on the experience within the fences and doesn't consider the co-constructed nature of the space – a site that is not a container but a crucible or melting pot within which new patterns of social relations are forged. The majority of academic literature explores specific festival phenomena, such as festival goers' motivations (Gelder et al. 2009; Bowen 2005) or influences that may affect crowd behaviours during a festival (Earl et al. 2004). Both of which understand the space as contained, not as representational (Lefebvre 1991) or co-constructed. By far the largest body of literature on music festivals are those associated with event management, the economics of music festivals (Leenders et al. 2010) and branding / marketing literatures (Rowley et al. 2008; O,Reilly, et al. 2013). This body of work evolved through an events management perspective and does not explore or conceptualise festival theory beyond the confines of the time and location of the event. There is a limited festival literature that explores the space as a porous entity, by porous this work means a space in which ideas, concepts and experience transcend the festival space and persists beyond the time and space of the music festivals.

Literature focusing on the music festival as a bounded entity is useful for the purposes of broadening the understanding of music festivals and the processes taking

place within them however, they do not conceptualise the wider implications these spaces can offer. By focusing on the boundaries, literature can also be an agent in re-creating academic discourse about festival spaces, as outlined in chapter two, discourse that research into music festivals have minimal deeper or wider implications beyond the space.

This work acknowledges the constructed nature of the space, whilst also expanding to consider how simultaneously it is also porous. The constructed and physical segregation of space at a festival promotes, creates and changes the lived experience of young people within it. Therefore, this chapter outlines ways that music festivals are spatially formed, how they are contained spaces, before considering how they are being subverted and socially reconsidered. The creation of fences creates a clear division between the inside and the outside. This division is important as it encourages a way of seeing space and conceptualising it, the space is segregated by using heras[23] fencing creating an inside and outside, these distinct areas have different production and consumption behaviours. The outside quickly becomes 'the real world', synonymous with everyday social, cultural norms and experiences of the normal production of labour, patterns and routines. Whilst inside becomes home with new forms of social and spatial phenomena, narratives and where alternative production and consumption practices take place.

Another function of the division of space by fencing is the creation of a collective sense of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' which encourages links and connections between people who have traversed from the outside to inside, expanded in the section on pilgrimage in chapter seven, the social consideration of insider and outsider identity is picked up in chapter six in a discussion on the effect that having a shared purpose has at music festivals. Moving away from fencing there are other elements to festivals that are unique in the space: watch towers are erected to look out over the camping fields, and within the sites there are designated areas for staff, performers, children, families, VIP campers and traders. It is an

[23] Heras is the name of the metal fencing used to construct the parameters of a music festival and its internal walls.

elaborately constructed space, changing open fields into segmented spaces with their own sets of rules and regulations. As the space is segmented objects take on new meanings, the wrist band and lanyard take on a new importance by giving access to areas, allowing the owner freedom of movement or not. The construction of festival spaces can take weeks to prepare.

BBC music has a 24-hour festival camera filming the construction of Glastonbury.[24] The impression of the festival, or the perceived space (Lefebvre 1991), is of fences and security and constructs an impenetrable space, with strong borders and boundaries between those inside and the outside. This perceived space has two functions, it amplifies the feelings of detachment for those inside, detachment from their normal everyday lives and distances them from social and cultural norms and social hierarchies, power relations and oppressive structures, outlined in chapter two. The second function is that it produces the effect of a bubble: activities, behaviour and identities take place and are forged within the temporary festival bubble, which ceases to exist when people return to the world outside, this is the conception of space that literature on the UK music festival scene perpetuates. In chapter eight, I challenge this suggestion, that the impact of the festival is only fleeting, as I demonstrate that young people are articulating a deeper transformation narrative that outlasts the festivals. My use of narrative mapping identified a more porous construction of music festivals by their attendees, what Lefebvre (1991) calls representational space, one that extends beyond the space and time of a festival. There is a longer lasting effect and mentality that transcends the festival time and moves into young people's everyday lives.

There has been an ever- increasing control and regulation of festival spaces, what Lefebvre (1991) calls commodified or conceived space, which is structurally and socially controlled. This process began with the movement from free festivals to the

[24]Glastonbury webcam (2015) Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/festivals/glastonbury/webcam?lang=en.

commercialisation of music festivals, with which came an increase in health and safety regulations, codes and guidelines. Lefebvre notes that architecture shapes the conceived space, in this way increased barriers and gate keepers all act as architecture that informs the conceived space of the festival shaping how it is experienced. The borders of the festival are heavily policed which takes place in two ways. First by those seeking to keep people out, stopping the movement of people without tickets into the space. Secondly by security, and sometimes the police, that attempt to control the movement of contraband into the space. Disallowed items are not just illegal objects such as drugs, they have also included pineapples[25] for Leeds and Reading Festival in 2017 and there is an ever-increasing list of disallowed items each year that security try and keep out, this point will be picked up later in this chapter in a discussion on the subversion of space and how contraband easily infiltrates the space evidencing its porous boundaries.

Music festivals have a physical boundary between one socially controlled space and the emergence of a new form of space inside, one informed by a different set of norms and practices. The boundary of a music festival, the entry points and gates present a picture of social control. The gate and entry point between the two spaces is heavily policed, this excess control signifies how the agents and enforces of social control; the police and private security, are purposely making a statement about zero tolerance which, within the fence, cannot and is not enforced to a successful degree. Private security outnumbers police on the gates and within the festival, a commonality with the urban nightscapes explored by Chatterton and Hollands (2003) who record a ratio of private security in the urban night time economy to police as being ten to 1 (54). In the same way that doormen police the borders of a night club (Chatterton and Hollands 2003:56) private security also make up the majority of force on the borders of music festivals. The borders are being policed by drug checks, with bag searches and drug dog patrols. By confiscation of

[25] Pineapples were banned for fear they could be thrown into the crowd, fans of the band the ‘Glass Animals’ commonly bring the fruit to see the band perform.

disallowed items, including pineapples for Leeds and Reading Festival in 2017. The pineapple example demonstrates how control extends beyond the normal boundaries of people's freedoms. The policing of the borders exemplifies how the authorities try and represent social control as they cannot inside of the boundary, the space inside the gates is subverted by festival goers. There is a disconnect between reality within the gates, the lived experiences of young people (Lefebvre 1991:60), and the conceived space at its boundary. As I note below young people subvert the perceptions that festival authorities give on the borders of the festival site by transforming it into representational space within which their agency is re-asserted. This constructed, or conceived space provides a sense of control portrayed to the wider world by authorities, which is subverted by young people because of their actions and behaviour within its borders which will be outlined in this chapter.

Drawing on fieldwork I now turn in greater depth to an analysis of the attitudes of the young people alongside whom I worked to consider their perceptions about intended 'constructed' spaces in a festival context and the ways in which these are subverted, ignored or re-imagined. I show how young people are creating new forms of representational space which transcend the space and time of the festival

5.3 Subverted and Recreated Space

Although there is a constructed conceived element of space at music festivals this is often subverted by festival goers. Lefebvre's (1991) abstract space does not permeate into music festivals, the hierarchical, patriarchal and other social power relations are disrupted. When working at Shambala festival in 2014 most of the night and into the early morning I was in receipt of information via the radio of fence jumpers, which is still a prevalent part of most smaller festivals. During my shift on a gate I regularly had groups of young people making a run for it past my station. Once inside it is not hard to be swallowed up in the festival. This

is an example of conceived space being subverted, physically by jumping the fence and emotionally by refusing to pay to enter.

Unplanned, self-organised and communal artistic expression was common at festivals. Art creation that young people were engaging in constructed and altered the landscape within the music festival, demonstrating a subversion of space. Below is an image of the box fort at Bestival 2014 (Figure 4) The box fort was not planned by the festival production team. Traders had piled up their used cardboard which was then appropriated by young people to create a cardboard fort and then decorated.

Figure 4 Bestival Box Fort, Photo Taken by Author, Bestival, 2014.

The box fort extended into the woods and was added on to over the weekend by different groups of young people. It was an expression of representational space, untouched by regulation, orchestration or planning (conceived space). The fort was a collaborative effort, utilised and played with by many people. Similar practices were visible at Glastonbury

festival 2015, in the Theatre and Circus field, where left-over cardboard was used to build a huge replica of the pyramid stage in box form. By building spaces, castles and art young people were creating their own representational space. The structures they created were not taken down by security but left and added to throughout the weekend. Young people put their mark on the festival space by altering and shaping the physical environment and using the materials within the space to construct collaborative art and play structures. As Lefebvre articulates:

> Certain deviant or diverted spaces, though initially subordinate, show distinct evidence of a true productive capacity. Among these are spaces devoted to leisure activity. Such spaces appear on first inspection to have escaped the control of the established order, and thus, inasmuch as they are spaces of play, to constitute a vast counter-space (Lefebvre 1991:383).

By making new forms and objects young people showed ownership and agency at music festivals and an investment in the space. The role that play has in festival spaces will be explored in the next section of this chapter. The practices that occur during the subversion of space illustrates a deeper engagement young people are having with music festivals and as Lefebvre (1991) shows expressions of subversion is evidence of ‘true productive capacity’ (383). Creative expressions of participatory and collaborative activities showed the positive contributions young people make, if allowed a space, that does not inhibit but encourages them to construct in public spaces.

The presence of young people, alongside their creative practice has an effect and presence that interrupts and reconfigures the space. There is a felt, noticeable change once the public enters a festival. Their presence, their bodies and their energy alter the conceived festival space, reconstructing it, subverting it and reclaiming the landscape through numbers. It wasn’t until I started fieldwork, and was present at festivals before the

public were on site, that I understood the impact that attendees had on the space. Both by their numbers, their bodies moving through space and the energy that they brought with them.

> Thursday Morning.
>
> The construction fences are slowly coming down, the entry gates are open and the number of people is steadily growing. There is a change in space from construction to open, the atmosphere has changed. Something is different, the site has become a living thing, sighing as parts become busy, breathing in and out as bodies walk through fields, meander, move on. It now has a different meaning, it is no longer a construction site but is fuelled by a purpose and infused with the blood and life force it needed, its people.
>
> [Tiny Tea Tent, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014]

My ethnographic observation from 2014 depicts how festival space is physically changed once the gates are open and construction has finished. It was taken whilst sitting at the Tiny Tea Tent, a venue overlooking Green Futures at Glastonbury. The landscape and architecture of the site is changed, from one of production to consumption. It also demonstrates how the atmosphere and feeling of the festival changes along with its purpose, young people's presence subverts the conceived space and, in the process, creates representational space. Young people become part of the landscape and active in its creation, they not only inhabit it but have begun to alter it.

5.4 Nature

Nature has a key role in defining the space and its subsequent impact on young people's experiences at music festivals, it was an overarching theme and a culmination of several

smaller concepts that emerged from empirical fieldwork. It is therefore, an idea that will be unpacked to establish the ways young people are shaping and being shaped by music festival spaces.

5.4.1 A Hybrid Space – The Rural and Urban

As chapter two established, literature on space and young people has largely focused on urban, rather than rural, spaces. Festivals do not fall comfortably into either category. They have elements of rurality because they are sited for a short time in rural landscapes but are conversely transitory and constructed spaces and therefore an anomaly in rural spaces. Festivals take place in the countryside and young people are traversing through rural areas to reach festivals. The festival space has other rural characteristics such as a lack of services, isolation from public transport and poor internet and mobile signal. To expand on the internet, as it has emerged as a new realm in the discussion of youth cultures, the internet and online spaces are increasingly playing a major role in the formation of youth identity through membership of virtual scenes (Bennett et al. 2004). By connecting online, young people are engaging in virtual scenes and therefore are not geographically bound (Bennett et al. 2004). Although the virtual plays a role as a site for ever-changing youth cultures, music festivals do not adhere to this presumed shift. As chapter eight will explore, young people are finding spaces that are free from the ‘virtual’ landscapes of the internet liberating and are articulating a desire for geographically located senses of place and belonging. This is being constructed with an exploration of nature, inherently geographical. The lack of virtual spaces for young people at music festivals are furthering a detachment from their everyday lives, the structures and rules that are maintained within them. Not having access to virtual spaces encourages young people to engage in social and spatial sites of belonging, rather than virtual ones.

Research into young people in rural areas has largely explored the negative impact of rural space on young people's lives. Drinking amongst rural youth has been explored by Valentine, et al. (2008) and constructions of gender by Tucker, et al. (2001). However, such research has focused particularly on the social exclusion of young women in rural spaces. Although sharing characteristics of rural space, music festivals showed no alignment with hierarchical or patriarchal discourses that are highlighted as being entrenched in rural communities. The hybrid characteristics of music festivals promote and play a significant role in constructing alternative counter cultural space, it embodies a new type of space with elements of the urban and rural. This influences young people, their interactions with nature and space is renegotiated. The space is also infused with historical roots which present an alternative understanding of nature which encourages young people to reconsider and reconceptualise their relationship with the natural landscape at music festivals.

5.4.2 Eco Movements and the Experience of Nature

As a result of the influence of the New Age Traveller movement, outlined in chapter three, there was a connection embedded between nature and the early festival movement. The green and eco movements associated with the philosophy of New Age have always had a place in festivals and this presence has undergone a recent revival at smaller festivals like Shambala and Bestival. This inclusion of nature and more specifically worship of nature, takes two forms; firstly, the inclusion of areas specifically designed to promote permaculture and the showcasing of green spaces. Permaculture are green spaces designed to be and promote sustainability, they are architecture of the festivals, purposely built to encourage alternative and critical thinking about the environment. The second part of festival sites that encourage an exploration of nature are those areas of the site left wild or wooded for the purposes of play rather than education. Both educational (permaculture) or play (woods) sites of nature are popular with young people. One young person commented to me that it, 'makes you more involved, more connected to the environment'.

(Questionnaire, 31 years old, Glastonbury, 2014). Ideas of nature are constructed and re-imagined at music festivals. Young people experience nature in a festival context that is quite different from the experience that characterises rural life. Festival production teams construct ideas of nature, a form of conceived space. Four out of my seven fieldwork festivals had specific spaces in which permaculture and green ecological living were being advertised. Not surprisingly it was in these festivals that young people were mentioning the green messages about nature, in festivals such as Shambala and Glastonbury more than Bloodstock and Beautiful Days Festival. All the festivals, apart from Bloodstock, included woodland areas, although some were more contained than others. Shambala had the most open and forested site, which could easily be explored and the distance between young people and nature be reduced. Several young people stated that Shambala was their favourite festival because of the expansive woods and that it meant that they could take part in unobserved play. Wild camping is allowed at Shambala as was tree climbing, exhibiting how young people are taking part in utopics or spatial play (Marin 1984) and is reflected on by one young person in this extract:

> RA Interview B.
>
> My favourite part of Shambala was the woods that were off to the side of the main stage areas. The woods were beautiful at night, lit up by many coloured lights, and I loved being able to climb up high in the trees and hang out with friends. During the day, it was fun to climb up in the trees and watch people walking around below [Interview B, Shambala, 2015].

The woods at Shambala festival had an impact on young people, it promoted a closer relationship with nature and encouraged play. It also enabled forms and expressions of freedom, freedom to play, experience and engagement with nature in alternative ways. In

doing so encouraging new ideas, concepts and reflections on self and spirituality, both points will be picked up again in chapter seven and eight.

The landscape becomes an important reference for young people. Nature and exposure to the elements is commented on by young people as an important aspect of the festival experience. Young people also subvert the space by not staying on constructed paths and routes, they use the land in unplanned ways. I would suggest that as a result of their practices they are building new experiences and concepts of nature and space. Young people show subversion of space through their practice, an example was observed at Shambala festival. Young people relaxed on the grass, rather than on provided festival furniture, which is outlined in the ethnographic note below.

> Down By the Lake:
>
> When there's a choice of benches …. They're all empty yet the grass was filled. People are more comfortable sat on the grass, lying on each other or chatting in circles or couples asleep and entwined. Do they feel closer to nature? A socially acceptable chance to use the land, enjoy it. Rejecting the notion of 'don't walk on the grass
>
> [Down by the lake, Ethnographic Note, Shambala, 2014].

From my participant observation, young people seemed to want to be closer to nature by sitting on the ground. I shared the desire to sit on the grass, feeling a closer sense to the festival and with those attending. Young people's awakened interest in experiencing nature is facilitated by new and emerging social and cultural norms at music festivals, which encourage a close interaction with nature. By sitting by the lake young people were unintentionally creating representational space: their shared act created a sense of community and unity for those involved. There was wooden furniture constructed in the same space but this was ignored and young people chose the ground instead. Nature had

facilitated a sense of solidarity amongst those sat by the lake, it also encouraged a feeling of equality, unifying those that chose to join by the lake. It was an unusual sight, approximately 40 people all spread out on the grass in sprawling positions, some asleep. To see young people asleep on each other is unusual in other public spaces and gave the impression of safety and trust. Feelings of safety and trust in the space will be picked up again in the next chapter on solidarity.

Within festivals a picture of new and alternative uses of space and relationships with nature started to emerge. A re-connection with nature is highlighted as a key component of a Temporary Autonomous Zone, a 'return to nature' enables liberation. Bey (1991) reflects how groups or tribes regress to a 'state of nature' and by doing so liberate themselves from heirarchial structures present outside of the spaces. Young people at music festivals are closing the distance between themselves and nature and by doing so naturally they are co-constructing a TAZ. The alternative, representational festival TAZ or bubble is encompassing new social norms and cultures of behaviour and ways of thinking which will be unpacked in chapter six.

Initially young people identified camping as an important aspect of the festival for them, 'I <3 camping!' [26] (Questionnaire, 29 years old, Shambala, 2015). As it arose in the first year of field work, subsequent questionnaires featured a question which asked young people what their favourite part of camping was. Many responded that it was that it reduced their distance from nature, by camping young people were experiencing nature in ways that are not present outside of the festival. The necessity to camp was reforming relationships that are disconnected and not valued in the everyday, whilst in festival spaces nature is utilised, experienced, valued, foregrounded and changing young people's use and conceptualisation of space. The questionnaires revealed that camping meant 'Detaching from all your stuff at home, getting back to nature.' (Questionnaire, 25 years

[26] <3 is the emoticon for a heart. In this instance the extract reads; I heart (love) camping! <3 replacing the word heart, or representing the word love.

old, Shambala, 2013). A narrative comparable with Bey's (1991) description of TAZ members of which return and desire a 'state of nature'. Young people identified that a connection was something that they were missing in their everyday lives and camping makes them feel 'more involved, more connected to the environment'. (Questionnaire, 23 years old, Glastonbury, 2014). Suggesting that by participating in camping young people were re-connecting with nature and forming new relationships with space. Overleaf is a festival map (Figure 5) created during the Shambala festival in 2014. The route the young person took is highlighted in orange and two spaces stand out, one is the lake as it has multiple lines leading down to the water. The second is the wilderness woodland which is shaded. The way that the young person has chosen to highlight both spaces indicates their importance. Both are destination points, rather than spaces that are moved through, like the other lines on the map. They are also highlighted by their alternative representation, the lake by its multiple lines showing that the space is wandered through, more liberally than the other spaces of the festival. The woodland is different because it is shaded, again indicating that the young person is interacting with the space in a different way than other areas of the festival. The lake, which was evidenced in the ethnographic note above, and is illustrated on the map by the orange wiggly line near the centre of the page. These were his two favourite places at the festival and the most rural sites of the festival, with the least festival 'architecture' (Lefebvre 1991). They were also the least commercial spaces, neither had venders, shops or amusements. The lake was an open lawn, the largest open space at the festival. The woods had minimal constructions and installations and consisted of a wooded area. Both areas were also at the edges or fringes of the festival, the fringe will be considered in more detail in a discussion of the South East Corner at Glastonbury Festival later in this chapter, they represented the more liberal, uncommercial and natural space at Shambala. The response by this young man was common at Shambala and the majority of the mapping followed a pattern of the woodland and lake areas being the most widely used and popular spaces for young people.

Figure 5 S, 30 years old, Festival Map, Shambala, 2015.

The green, more natural areas of Glastonbury Festival also held significance for young people. One participant described the healing fields and stone circle as ‘off the beaten track’ (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Glastonbury, 2014). He felt these areas were a separate part of the festival. For him these spaces were special because they represented an alternative space within the festival. Ideas of the wild and being off the beaten track were also shared at other festivals, Young people commented they, ‘Enjoy roughing it’ (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Bloodstock, 2015) and that to do a festival authentically you had to camp, ‘To get the festival experience means roughing it with your mates’ (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Bloodstock, 2015). Young people identified nature as an important part of their festival experience, one which had several purposes one of which was to unify them through shared experience which will be expanded on in chapter six. It was authentic to camp, get caught in the rain and experience nature: the effect of which created solidarity. Nature also acted in opposition to the everyday practices of young people, it was an out of the ordinary experience. Nature was not part of the conceived

space, it embodied attributes of wildness and freedom that young people were engaging with and enjoying. The connection that is formed with nature is instilling counter cultural practices, as Bey (1991) considers in Temporal Autonomous Zones:

> Sooner or later the uncovering & unveiling of self/nature transmogrifies a person into a brigand — like stepping into another world then returning to this one to discover you've been declared a traitor, heretic, exile (1991:34).

Bey (1991) argues that a close connection, indeed a morphing of self and nature, is counter cultural and problematic for wider society. As chapter three explored, nature was an integral part of the New Age Traveller movement, it represented a rejection of institutions and regulations especially those related to use and movement in nature. The Battle of Beanfield was a result of differing cultures and ways of understanding nature colliding. A moral panic emerged about those that desired to live off the land, return to the land and have a closer relationship with nature. Nature encourages freedom from social and cultural norms, as well as representing alternative values and ways of being, music festivals encourage elements that have in the past prompted fear, apprehension and panic amongst agents of the state. Within the space young people enjoy experiencing a closer relationship and reconnection with nature, which in turn shapes festivals into representational space. Continuing the thread of exposure and experiences of nature the role that fire plays at music festivals will be explored in more detail.

5.4.3 Fire

An important aspect of nature and the environment at festivals was the presence of fire. All festivals in this study had open fires, they had a visible and practical function by offering light and heat, as well as a social one by bringing people together around a focal point. Fires were a spatial construction that brought people together, unifying the festival

community and creating solidarity. Some were constructed by festival production, but others were created by attendee's.

> Fire.
>
> The smell of fire, takes me straight back to standing in Shambala woods or by a fire pit in the Green Fields. Feet on the grass, sat on a log by the edge of a fire. The first time I smelt the fire afterwards I instantly felt the cold of the night, could remember so vividly the dark and it also suddenly connected me to the fire side. Once I smelt that familiar smell it felt like I was surrounded by a group of people again all sat in a circle around the fire pit. Smelling fire transports me. Not just to remembering the physical environment but the social one also, I get a wave of festival essence, I suddenly feel back connected to a group, a whole, a community all from a scent [Fire, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

Fire has a strong sensory connection for me, fire had multiple functions socially and spatially, as a light and heat source during the night and a focal point for gathering. Fire and sitting on the ground takes a centre stage in one young person's participant map (Figure 6). There are only a few elements to this map, so I asked the reasons for including what he did. He answered that he had included the most important things for him, friends, music, chilling. I asked about the fire and he said that you can't have a festival without a good fire.

Figure 6 Imagined Map, 20 years old, outside of festivals, 2015, AN.

Fire was adding additional sensory experiences that were not part of the everyday lives for many young people. Fire embodied alternative practices from young people and in doing so enabled alternative thinking. Fire, as chapter seven will explore, has ritual purposes at music festivals, alongside encouraging young people to sit in nature, by a fireside and engage in community. The fireside was an interesting epicentre, the fire drew people to it but the group was truly temporal. The group of people around the fire side came and went, temporally constructing, then departing to be replaced by others. A continual movement in and out of the circle, egalitarian by virtue of its circular shape – you can see everyone along the edges illuminated by light. Overall young people have a different relationship with nature at festivals. A re-connection is made, either by experiencing rurality, nature or fire, suggesting that a close relationship with nature is missing in their everyday lives.

5.5 Time

Young people have a different purpose at music festivals than in other spaces. As Lefebvre's ideas about representational space, purpose and attitude influences the space that is created, therefore young people's purposes, motivations and objectives at music festivals influence the space. Music festival sites have a fundamentally different purpose than other social spaces, centring on pleasure and play. Chapter two outlined how music festivals are perceived as hedonistic play spaces and are presented by the media as unproductive, young people's purpose and motivations in the space are therefore un-valued and perceived by wider society as not benefitting society wider or beyond the space and time of the festival. As Bakhtin comments, 'During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom' (Bakhtin 1965:7), as young people reconceptualise time, they also enable new forms of freedoms, that are unique to the festival space, to emerge. This section explores the role purpose plays in the construction of festival time. Music festivals have an alternative purpose than outside but this purpose is no less valuable. Festival time for young people enables for alternative practices and thinking to take place whilst simultaneously showing what young people value about festival spaces.

Young people at music festivals were in a moment of deconstructing to re-construct ideas of time. They were commenting and differentiating between notions of time within the space and those outside of it, one such construction was the festival bubble. The bubble was the alternative conceptualisation of time that existed at festivals, the bubble represented the spatial and temporal boundaries of the event. The 'bubble' is the name that I gave to the idea of festival time, a name based on the differentiation of time by young people. As B commented on in her refection:

> It felt like being in another world for a few days, and the days felt a longer time than we really spent there
>
> [R.A Interview, B, Shambala, 2015].

B articulated how she felt that time had changed at music festivals, it felt longer than outside, which she differentiated by saying how it felt like another world. Time was embodied in alternative ways, and therefore 'felt' different. Festival time and temporality liberated young people from constructions which can inhibit reflection; time free from routine, responsibilities and norms of day and night enable for new, alternative and liberating constructs of time to appear. Young people were free in time, therefore in the space they also felt freedom.

The ways young people conceptualised festival space often evoked the image of a bubble, contradicting the idea of the festival as a porous space. The construction of the bubble appeared to be a protective process, to keep the outside world away from the festival time. Social ideas about time were suspended, everyday routines; work, necessity to travel long distances, appointments were no longer affecting the conception of time. In its place young people felt time change, running faster or slower. This was closely connected with the alternative purpose of festival spaces and how these affect the feeling of time. Bey (1991) describes the sense of time for those within a TAZ, 'those within live outside profane Time, which they hold at bay with daggers & poisons' (1991:23). Young people evoked the defensiveness of maintaining the festival TAZ. Within the festival context there is liberation from the social and cultural norms outside of temporal spaces (Bakhtin 1965); therefore, the permeation of the outside world into that space is met with annoyance from young people who are trying to maintain the temporal space and the new freeing sense of being that the festival brings:

> One might say that carnival celebrates temporary liberation from the prevailing truth of the established order; it marks the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalized and complete (Bakhtin 1965:109).

Bakhtin here conceptualises the carnival as the true feast of time, demonstrating the relationship between the construction of time and those taking part in the event. He also highlights carnival as a time of change and renewal which transcends the event and continues outside of carnival, and therefore of a music festival. The link between Bakhtin's carnivalesque time as understood in *Rabelais and his World* and festival time arrives in its purpose, both are characterised by a space that has an alternative reason for being and one that has rejected and dropped outside normal routines. The festival has the potential to reorganise socially constructed truths, including conventional understandings of time and its meaning. Time takes on a different meaning for young people. The daily routine is removed, night time entertainment takes place 24 hours a day which has the effect that normal perceptions of time are suspended. Sleep can occur erratically at music festivals or not at all which disrupts routines. A by-product of lack of sleep is sleeping in public, a common observation across all the festival sites. It was more socially acceptable to sleep outside, demonstrating a level of trust amongst the community, a concept picked up in chapter six, also it was an experience of being closer in nature, public and private domains merging.

In a music festival there is a process of confused time, many routines become dropped, or changed, or sped up due to intoxication. Young people referred to losing time in this respect. It was also lengthened at times where there was little to do other than 'chilling' (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Beautiful Days, 2014) and 'hanging out with mates and kind of doing nothing: it is great' (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Shambala, 2015). It was

a common reflection from young people that a festival was a place to ‘escape reality’ (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Glastonbury, 2014). A large portion of which was escaping norms of time. Freedom of time is interrelated with the concept of freedom of self, Bey describes in TAZ (1991) that ‘We are free in TIME — and will be free in SPACE as well’ (64). The two concepts construct one another, the change in the perception of time demonstrated at music festivals lead to the construction of specific terms and language. ‘Festival time’ referred to how long there was left of the festival. It was most commonly used to describe how time was a different entity in the space.

Time took on a different role and value within the festival, time became precious to young people and was something to be protective of. Evidence of how young people were protective is shown by the reaction I witnessed several times when a conversation was brought around to the outside world, or to Monday morning. Festival time was a precious commodity, more precious because it was temporal. Although it was fleeting young people commented how they were ‘holding on to festival time’ (Questionnaire, 30 years old, Shambala, 2014) and ‘taking the festival time with me’ (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Glastonbury, 2015). Time was being conceptualised as quick and slow and also an element that young people wanted to hold on to and take with them beyond the festival. Illustrating how young people constructed an alternate idea of time and wanted to replicate this type of time and the feelings it brought on the outside, the primary feeling of which was a sense of freedom. One reason for wanting to take festival time with them will be looked at in chapter seven, in the form of spirituality and in particular times for reflection. Time changed in meaning inside festival spaces because society had changed: its priorities, its behaviours and its make-up. It was the construction of young people whose everyday routines were interrupted and whose priorities and actions were altered. The ways young people interacted, and embodied time changed and was reconstructed, this was evidenced by the creation of new shared terminology and language. New rituals were constructed to solidify this new relationship with time, times of the day, specifically sunrise and sunset, took on a

new importance. Four separate groups that I spent time with had traditions of watching the sun rise every morning before calling it a night and sleeping. The rituals with the beginning and ending of the days will be considered in more depth in chapter seven but is notable as evidencing how young people were embodying alternative ways of experiencing time: the passing of time and important moments in time.

5.6 Play Space

So, what were young people doing with festival time? This study found that they were spending it in play, through play they were connecting to the landscape and to nature in new ways. This reconnection can be understood is through the lens of utopics (Marin 1984). Utopics considers how spatial play is integral for the construction of place, belonging and, importantly, ideas about the future for young people. Young people's conceptualisations about positive futures and the spaces they feel a sense of belonging have been connected through participatory research (Wilson et al. 2016). Belonging is fostered in festival spaces through constructions of ownership, play is one action that is facilitating a sense of ownership, belonging and subsequent reflections about the future. Spatial play (Marin 1984) was employed to deconstruct young people's actions at Disneyland to explore how young people construct positive ideas about the future in Disney spaces. Utopics, through spatial play, demonstrated how young people wanted society to be. Young people gave meaning to the landscape through spatial play. Through play young people embedded meaning, value and set out a utopian landscape through the way they interacted with the space. Similar processes occur in the way young people are using music festivals, they embed meaning and symbolism in space. During fieldwork one young person commented that she acted differently in music festivals because she was 'given a space to play' (Questionnaire, 27 years old, Shambala, 2015), showing an active participation in utopics. This section outlines the aesthetics of music festivals, the installations and on-site art to

understand how the conceived space of the festival encourages young people to play and engage with space.

Lefebvre's (1991) analysis of the social production of space acknowledges the value that leisure spaces can have. He does, however, remind us that these are often considered to be deviant spaces by wider society because they subvert social order. Whilst they may appear to be small acts, the subversion of festival space through play, art and even sitting in nature evidences the creation of counter-space, and a desire by young people to engage and create a different type of space with new, altered and different social and cultural norms.

5.6.1 Installations

Art installations at festivals are designed to promote communication, community and play amongst festival goers. Installations are created within the space by artists and designers given entry for their pieces by festival producers. They are 'constructed' rather than produced by young people, however it is worth noting that not many 'workers' at festivals are paid but work for the loyalty, pride and a free ticket for the festival. Therefore, instilling a non-capitalist motivation for art production at music festivals.

The purpose of installations at music festivals are to facilitate and encourage young people to play, to be tactile and take part in the festival in interactive ways. Figure 7 shows a chalk board designed for festival goers to express themselves artistically, to leave messages and as it states, communicate. This communication took the form of a continued dialogue – a joke or statement followed by replies from other people. By the end of Glastonbury 2015 it was covered in words and pictures. The art present in music festivals was participatory encouraging active engagement and discussion among strangers. Art pieces enabled young people to leave messages which gave a sense of ownership over the space and the art that facilitated it. So, although the installations were conceived, they

were constructed to facilitate festival unity, communication and play. The creation of a TAZ is interlinked with the process of creating art:

> I do suggest that the TAZ is the only possible "time" and "place" for art to happen for the sheer pleasure of creative play, and as an actual contribution to the forces which allow the TAZ to cohere and manifest (Bey 1991:20).

Art, facilitated by installations, is co-constructing alongside festival time and space. Bey (1991) highlights here how the space enables true forms of play, which in turn form TAZ, he also indicates the presence of pleasure in TAZ, a concept that will be explored in chapter eight. Figure 7 was filled with messages throughout the festival, unfortunately it rained and had washed out by the Monday when I returned to photograph it completed, reflecting its temporality. The middle section of the chalk board was designed to be doodled on in pen as an additional message board.

Figure 7 Communication, Photo Taken by Author, Glastonbury, 2015.

Another example of constructed ways in which young people are communicating is below (Figure 8). The Solar Chai Tent at Bestival 2014 encouraged young people to draw and

doodle. The tables were white washed and designed to be written on, as Figure 8 depicts. They were very popular and every table had layers of messages, doodles and drawings. Mainly depicting a love for the festival, the theme Bestival was a disco ball which had been drawn many times on the tables, evidencing a shared sense of identity and solidarity. It also evidenced an absorption of branding at the festival, themes will be picked up again in a discussion of New Age in chapter seven. The Solar Tent gave out free chai and cake to everyone who made it to the top of the hill where it was situated overlooking the site. The tables were encouraging young people to engage and communicate with one another in a non-capitalist environment.

Figure 8 Solar Tea Tent, Photo Taken by Author, Bestival, 2014.

5.7 Traversing Space

Movement, motion and exploration of space at festivals are intrinsic to the creation of place and space for young people. This section reflects on the effect that the practical elements of getting in and out of festivals have for young people.

> Anticipation built as we bumped along in the car, the roads steadily getting more rural, narrower, bumpier. I started thinking where on earth is it? We twisted round

> narrow roads for 45 minutes, the number of stewards we saw slowly increased and I sought assurance from every single one as I drove past with a thumbs up if it was a straight line and a shrug of shoulders if I was wondering which direction to go, all waved in a robotic way the right direction. Then I found myself parked, I still couldn't see the site, the entrance or any sign of the festival. One part of the journey was over, the next, the 'mission', lumbering under heavy bags was about to begin [Entering, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

The walk and the journey into the festival became part of the experience. The physical space and location of music festivals meant that spatiality, traversing space and movement was an important aspect of the festival experience. The movement through space for me became intermingled with emotions of anxiety and excitement. The process of travelling was both a physical action and an emotional one.

> The first reference I had that I was entering the festival was seeing the pedestrian entrances, we walked in 'Ped Gate C'. I wandered through what felt like cattle grids, breathlessly lugging all my equipment, my camping bag is almost the same height as me so negotiating gates is never fun. As staff I was in 4 days before the public and none of the flashy entrancing was in place (dances, entertainers, flashing lights and people handing out programs) but none of the awe was lost. The exhaustion from bag carrying instantly forgotten, my peripheral vision suddenly widened, from walking with heavy bags staring straightforward trying to not overbalance and fall I could now see all around from the top of 'Theatre and Circus' field. Fences gone, the countryside seemingly miles away, laid out ahead a patchwork of fields and stages. It feels like stepping through the mirror, the energy changes, the space is meant to be used for something different than usual. The expectations of the space are different, it should feel like an enclosed pen instead it feels like something

> special, different and full of something, even without the public being in yet there is something in the land welcoming you in
>
> [Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

The emotional and spatial merged with the necessity of getting onto site. The process of traversing space embeds a journey narrative, and a shared ritual that young people construct by its re-telling, a concept that will be explored in a discussion of pilgrimage in chapter seven. The way that young people experience space and move through it with a different perspective and engagement shows how they are actively producing representational space. A space which shows what young people value; collaborative space, close to nature and one that brings them into close contact with one another.

5.8 A Bendy Bubble and Utopian Spaces

Young people are constructing, re-constructing and playing with space with an increased ability to reconsider time by being outside of the everyday. In their co-created bubble, they can play with ideas about the kind of space and society they would ideally like to live in. Here ideas of utopia come into play, one young person highlighted this in his imagined map:

Figure 9 Imagined Map, 30 years old, outside of festivals, 2015, C.

This imagined map from Glastonbury festival has at its centre a photograph of the world. Figure 9 the, imagined map, was created using a computer by a participant outside of a music festivals. I met C at Glastonbury and had kept in touch, subsequently seeing him at two more festivals the following year. He had not had time to complete an imagined map during the festival, therefore sent me Figure 9 by email attachment in 2015 in between the

festival season. He explained to me that festivals meant more than just a leisure event ‘it was a blueprint of how he wanted society to be’ (C, I.M, Glastonbury, 2015) His experiences at music festivals and the community he felt part of were things he wanted to take back into the real world. He explained how music festivals had changed his behaviour outside in his everyday life by changing his outlook on what was important in his life.

There is little literature exploring utopianism at music festivals, so I draw from other youth subcultures and scenes that have explored this issue. Richards, et al (1998) concludes that the German Love Parade in the 1990’s was:

> For youth culture of the 1990’s the hope for a loving, peaceful and unifying community remains one of the few powerful, utopian ideals left. International rave culture transcends the harsh realities of everyday (Richards et al. 1998:171).

In the case of the rave scene and the German Love parade Richards et al (1998) identified that young people were forming a connection to the music and the space to create and be creators of their own idea of a perfect society. This creative process transcends the festival and enters the everyday lives of young people. The behaviours that festivals inspired and encouraged in the space are moving beyond the weekend. It is changing the way that young people are acting outside.

Festivals are transgressive spaces, in accordance with TAZ and are spaces which encourage change beyond the time and space of the official festival. Young people are re-articulating concepts of time and space and, when unpacked, we can glimpse at the way in which they would choose to collectively engage with their environment, as Lefebvre states, ‘In and through the space of leisure, a pedagogy of space and time is beginning to take shape’ (1991:383). The reconstruction of space; appropriation and subversion, demonstrate agency from young people who are articulating the types of spaces that they want to engage with. Once constraints and conceived space (Lefebvre 1991) are

renegotiated, young people re-design it and, in so doing, demonstrate the type of space they want to live in and conversely what they are resisting. Young people are showing resistance to unsocial living where there is a large distance between individuals and nature. Even though the space is highly constructed young people create, subvert and enjoy camping, highlighting a desire for temporal living. The desire to traverse space and how it unifies people echoes deeper desires; of getting lost, tuning out or losing yourself to find yourself. The play space articulated in this chapter shows how young people seek stimulating creative spaces and by participating have interrupted social and cultural norms, their creativity also indicates a desire for ownership in space, an element which is lacking outside. Within music festivals, young people regain public spaces through artistic practices and as the examples have shown, the doodling tables and chalkboards, small practices are meaningful for young people because they feel a sense of ownership in the space and can alter the space within the 'bubble'. The music festival is their space and they have a strong sense of belonging to it. By alteration, production of spaces and action, young people demonstrate how, if empowered, they would want society to look like and the social and cultural norms they would want to exist.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the ways space is constructed at music festivals. First, the constructed space that festival producers create to keep people in and to keep others out. Second, I have demonstrated how during my fieldwork it became evident that young people subvert constructed festival space and co-create their own representational spaces. I have revealed the different perceptions that surround festival space and contrasted these with young people's experiences of using the space. I have highlighted the different types of space that are created at music festivals and how these challenge the static perception of space. By examining festivals as transgressive spaces of reconnection to nature and a

more fluid attitude towards time leads to a more nuanced and realistic understanding of festivals.

Counter cultural, alternative, subaltern perspectives play an important role in festival spaces. The link between New Age philosophies, about the environment and nature, permeate in the space as chapter three outlined and this chapter has illustrated. These perspectives are influencing the space and through the creation of spaces like; permaculture, healing fields and forests, an example is produced for young people, an example of a different way of life. In several ways this is influencing young people and the way they see the world outside. The result of the space and its alternative ideals is felt in a series of different ways. The bubble effect and the protectiveness of the space by its participants is evidence of its distance from the everyday. There is also evidence that festival space is broadening the horizons of young people by exposing them to an alternative way of living. This chapter has demonstrated that young people are gaining sovereignty and agency in music festivals and highlighted that much of the literature on young people and festivals fails to recognise that young people are articulating the spaces that they value and emotionally resonate with. The space is emancipatory and facilitates alternative ways of socialising which we picked up in the following chapter.

6.

Chapter Six - Solidarity

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I draw on empirical data from my fieldwork and theoretical understandings of community to demonstrate how young people create bonds of solidarity in festival spaces. Solidarity emerged as one of the key themes through the process of data collection at festivals. The questionnaires highlighted the importance of solidarity and community for young people in festival spaces ethnographic accounts gave evidence to how these communities are being experienced and therefore, enabled for thicker description and a multi-layered picture to emerge.

The chapter explores the formation of communities in music festivals by examining the shared experiences, purposes and motivations of young people and the shared rituals, language and narratives that bond and unify them. The chapter is split into sections: to illustrate what forms of solidarity are taking place the chapter discusses festival families and explores how solidarity is constructed amongst young people at music festivals. Then moves onto examine specific ways solidarity is fostered through shared purpose, experiences and rituals.

The key focus of this chapter is not community but solidarity. If I had defined this section as festival community it would have to be entitled ‘communities’ rather than community, in accordance with the effects of liquid modernity. However, importantly the choice of title is due to the theoretical foundation of this chapter, as it is concerned with the processes, rather than the outcomes a more appropriate name is solidarity. Also, this chapter explores the ways young people unite and argues that a more appropriate

descriptor is ‘tribes’, a more holistic understanding then community. Neo-tribes were considered in chapter two and here I utilise them to understand the process of forging unity and solidarity in a festival context. Untangling young people’s understanding of solidarity, the communities they construct and the processes taking place in festivals spaces, will be aided by a discussion of the conceptualisation of ‘community(ies)’ and ‘solidarity’. The three main theories that underpin my discussion of solidarity at music festivals are Liquid Modernity (Bauman 2000) and the groups that it has produced: Neo-tribalism (Maffesoli 1995) and liminality (Turner 1969).

6.2 ‘The People’

’The people’ was the most common answer to the question - ‘*What is the most important aspect of festivals for you?’* in the questionnaires. 57 young people cited it as the most important aspect for them and overall it was cited 144 times in responses to other questions and combined with R.A reflections from the field data. Alongside ‘people’ 29 young people cited ‘community’ as the answer to the question, one person used the expression, “comradery” (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Bestival, 2014) to demonstrate the most important aspect for him. When looking at word frequency, the most frequently used amongst the qualitative data, questionnaires and interview data, was ‘people’ followed by friends and thirdly music. Significantly 40.7 % of young people made positive reference to ‘the people’. Therefore, building in a grounded way the results from the first year’s questionnaires, the idea of solidarity, was explored in greater depth through participant observation in the preceding years. One focus of my ethnographic gaze became solidarity and the forms of groups it created and how / what processes were in practice to create solidarity amongst young people. Solidarity was chosen, rather than other concepts such as; community and relationships, as it expressed the desire to be involved in a larger force, in multiple forms.

The examples of solidarity; festival families, and construction of solidarity, tactility and closeness, in festival spaces articulate the natural way young people create communities. In their own representational space[s] (Lefebvre 1991), without social restraints and constrictions young people at festivals created tribes that reflected the processes of sociality that young people were engaged in. Counteracting the negative representation of them being unproductive spaces and young people being unproductive members of society which chapter two presented. Drawing on Bauman's concept of Liquid Modernity (2000) alongside a discussion of neo-tribal groupings (Bey 1991) and subcultures (Bennett 1999) this chapter will argue that young people are in a creative process of forming social groupings or communities with cohesive sets of identifiers, norms and practices. It will also draw from the idea of liminality and the concept of communitas to support the argument that temporary music festivals are spaces for solidarity and community construction.

6.3 Festival Families

The importance of festival families emerged as a key theme during my fieldwork. This was a theme that I reflected on during the first year of fieldwork and, through a process of double reflexivity (Blackman and Commane 2012), and subsequently considered in and out of festival spaces as well as across festival sites. The ethnographic account below was a culmination of a reflection on the social interactions and connections I was making with people across the five festivals I had attended over two years.

The Families

There was a lot of mention of "festival families". As in many spaces the micro groups or tribes become integral to many people and the experience of the festival as a whole. I was adopted into many tribes, they had names, Honey Badgers, Glitter &

> Glow Sticks Crew, Oxfamily to name a few, all with a distinct set of rituals and in jokes
>
> [Festival families, Ethnographic Note, November, 2014].

I did not coin the term ‘families’: it was a word that arose in general conversations with young people. Many young people first met their ‘festival families’ at festival sites and continued to meet up, usually just once a year to camp with those that they had met in previous years, creating traditions. In a similar way I camped six times with the Honey Badgers, twice with Oxfamily and once with the Glitter & Glow Sticks family. These relationships were created in the temporal space of the festival but had longer lasting impacts beyond the festival, to expand across multiple festivals in multiple years and continue to this day. I visited members of all groups outside of festivals, in their own homes and had them visit me. Blackman and Commane (2012) considers participant friendships and the hidden elements to ethnography, concluding that the politics of friendship, or the unseen connections, experiences and relationships are fundamental in research practice. The ‘festival family’ aligns with aspects of communitas (Turner 1969), being founded on equal experiences of living, in a tent community. Also liquid modernity (Bauman 2000), by fractured, multiple friendship groups. However festival families are a more complex model of community as these families transgress the temporal space and are created under different social processes in counter cultural spaces, becoming neo-tribal (Maffesoli 1995). This multiplicity corresponds with the processes of liquid modernity as I was engaged in several groupings on many occasions and moved between them fluidly, often within one festival. The feelings I had towards the ‘festival families’ were reflected in an interview from Bloodstock Festival, ‘It is a community, it is a family’ (P, Bloodstock, 2015). Festival families demonstrated a deeper bond between people, that is not temporal, and reflects the way in which they were created. This contradicts the ambivalent relationships described in liquid modernity but resonates with neo-tribal understandings of groupings. Adding another layer

of social processes by occurring in temporal, liminal spaces festival tribes are created in spaces where there are limited social cultural constraints, hierarchies and regulations. The next section of this chapter will go into more detail about the makeup of the families. The families were connected through processes of solidarity. One way in which this was created was through having a shared purpose, in the case below the purpose was glitter and henna.

> Glitter & Glow Sticks
>
> Sat on a Bobbin in the Cabaret field on Thurs, watching Professor Elemental, The Gentleman Rapper. A girl asks, "Can I sit down?" I answered, "Course". She sits down and pulls out of her bag a tower of glitter, at least ten different colours all stacked up. Curious I asked, "How do you make it stick?" - She pulled out lip gloss and rubs it on her cheeks, "Like this". She goes on to apply glitter in descending colours from her temples to her nose. When she finished she reaches over and says do you want some? An hour later I'm glittered, hennaed on arms and legs and feel completely accepted, the girl was one of three sisters at Glastonbury with another five or so friends. I spent the afternoon hanging out with them and arranged to catch them again the next day. Once fully painted I had been initiated, these sisters and long-time friends were as warm as if they had known me for years. Bonded through glitter & henna
>
> [Glitter and Glow Sticks, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

It was a shared love of glitter and a beautification processes that bonded me with this person and gained me access into the Glitter and Glow Sticks festival family. Blackman (1998:208) emphasised how the New Wave Girls had “stylistic solidarity”. They were bonded through a shared desire to beautify and experiment with dress and fashion, he also noted the physical acts of dressing up together was a bonding process. The New Wave Girls would dress together to go on a night out, it was unifying and bonding them before a

night out. In the same way glittering was a bonding process for me. It was an act on the glitter's part of indoctrinating me into the group, all the others in the group were wearing heavy amounts of glitter. I was obtaining the uniform of the group, even though glitter is not something I would usually wear. The space was liberating for me and I experimented with dress and style, which I explore in more detail in the chapter on the self. Glittering was also a tactile act and one of trust, both of which will be explored in greater detail in chapter eight. Being glittered was a gift and a gesture of openness, the group also hennaed my arms and legs. Malbon (1998:273) discusses this action in terms of 'communal ethic', 'This communal ethic, the pleasure of being with others, is born both from the sharing of space (a territory) and the proximity of that act of sharing', the same process was present in music festivals. We shared a festival space, similarly to Malbon's shared 'territory'. Through my participation at music festivals it became a space I felt I had ownership of, it became my territory. The shared experience of spending time glittering and hennaing was an act of sharing products and the giving of time. We sat for over an hour chatting and glittering me. Malbon has also highlighted the importance of sharing to unite and create solidarity amongst young people. I was an active participant in creating solidarity as well as being invited in: there was a two-way process taking place. The processes that were creating solidarity will be discussed following examples of the types of groups that were being constructing in festival spaces. The sense of families and new connections was also captured in the imagined maps show in figure 10:

Figure 10 Imagined Map, 30 years old, Shambala, 2015, EM.

The map sketched in Figure 10 depicts the way in which the festival centre is concerned with the people who attend. For this young person the connection with people: people she already knew and people she was yet to befriend was the most important aspect of the festival. She acknowledged that she would make ‘new friends for life’ which is a bold statement to make, it is one that strengthens the idea of festival families. These families and relationships lasted beyond the festival. The map in Figure 10 was drawn by one of the Glitter and Glow Sticks family, a family which made a long-lasting connection with me which continues. Having explored young people’s shared purposes within festival spaces this chapter will now look at the role that shared experience has. If a shared purpose brought young people into the space and enabled them to connect, shared experiences was strengthening and making these relationships unique. To return to festival families

before exploring the processes that construct solidarity this chapter provides a deeper description, the first festival family was the Honey Badgers:

Honey Badgers

It was Bestival in the summer of 2014, I had been brought into a close-knit group of volunteers at the festival. I co-constructed this group, emerging over a day that we spent together, we joined initially because we shared space at the campsite and were heading onto the festival site at the same time.

> The Badgers:
>
> If anyone shouted, “HONEY BADGER” the group of eight or nine froze in the style of a honey badger, arms raised as paws, one foot off the ground. This ritual served a practical purpose; the group was large, people kept stopping to look at stalls or get distracted and wander away so if I noticed someone having fallen behind or wander off I shouted, “HONEY BADGER” and everyone froze in the position of a honey badger, it was a tactic to enable the Badgers to regroup. If I shouted, “ROAD KILL” it meant that there was a vehicle coming, we were staff and used the vehicle paths as short cuts around the site so often there were buggies speeding around corners [Honey Badgers, Ethnographic Note, Bestival, 2014].

Shouting “BADGER” still works and it also has been extended to include new people. It was used for months after, in other festivals and even amongst people who weren’t present at Bestival. It had moved beyond the festival time and holds deeper meaning, illustrated when one of the members christened her canal boat *Honey Badger.* As a family we had shared words which had our own meanings, insider knowledge was created which transgressed Bestival. The practices united us for a practical reason for one night at a festival, but this action extended the temporality of Bestival and became ritualised. Malbon

(1998) in his subcultural analysis of night clubs deconstructs the ritual of queuing. For him young people are engaging in ritual without necessarily being aware that they are, he considers these rituals the ‘glue which acts to bind the disparate personae together encapsulating the customs, traditions and norms that go to make clubbing a distinctive form of social interaction’ (277). The rituals that were taking place within music festivals are actively creating solidarity. Being involved and accepted into festival families was a natural process. Coming together and joining micro groupings (neo-tribes) was an unthought out process, it was only on reflection that these processes became visible, they are often unconscious social acts of creating solidarity (Malbon, 1998) and this was the case for the Honey Badgers.

I took several photographs of participants during fieldwork, I was open about my ethnographic use of photographs and that they may be used for my thesis and subsequent published material. I obtained permission from participants to use their image at the time, during the festival using an Informed Consent Form (see appendices) and I maintained contact and re-negotiated permission once the choice of photographs for the thesis was decided.

Figure 11 The Honey Badgers, Photo Taken by Author, Bestival, 2014.

When conceptualising the Honey Badger's behaviour what struck me as unique festival behaviour was that for a brief time the good of the group outweighed the individual. As Malbon describes, 'Their (clubbers) individual senses of identity become (temporarily) less significant than the nature of the social situation of which they are part' (Malbon 1998:275). All the Honey Badgers froze, stopped and chose to act as one. The group dynamic overtook and the solidarity between the group, to act as one, was a powerful action that united and bound everyone together. The experience transcended the festival weekend. It is still talked about and has been printed onto the collective memory of the group. The act became a narrative of the group, being re-told and connects us in and out of festivals. It was a shared ritual, narrative and experience and at the time had a shared purpose of keeping us together as a group in a crowded festival. This chapter will explore

in more detail the role that having a shared purpose plays in the construction of solidarity amongst young people. Festival families share a common purpose, experience, collective memory and shared rituals. They have their own language and 'in' knowledge, this solidifies the temporal grouping. These aspects will be considered in more detail in this chapter and will sum up festival families, the forms of communities that we see at music festivals and how they are created and cemented. What unites them and draws them together illustrates natural way that young people are creating community.

6.4 Purpose

The strength and potential for solidarity is increased when people have a shared motivation and a common purpose. This section of the chapter will consider young people's motivations and shared understandings in music festivals and what part this plays in the creation of solidarity. Geographically the participants are dispersed for much of the year but come together in the same location and into the same space to connect because of a desire to be within a group with a shared purpose. That purpose is to be a festival tribe, to unify under tents, up trees, in fields because of a shared love of the festival. To explore shared purpose this section will take a closer look at one area of Glastonbury Festival, the 'South East Corner' and argue that there is a different type of group, 'tribe' in this section of Glastonbury. Its demographic is younger, the venues are open longest and the types of music are considered the most experimental and modern, drum & bass, techno; gabba and grindcore, and in 2017 it welcomed the first metal venue at Glastonbury in the form of a reclaimed tube train, Earache Records. The interplay between the space, the music and the people created a strong sense of tribe identity, one that is a counter cultural challenge to the counter culture of Glastonbury. The youthful 'shock' element and lively, late night ravers, clubbers and hippies descend on the South East to enact a form of youth utopia. It can feel a daunting place, purposely designed to feel dystopian, in the Unfair Ground hangs

six-foot-tall dead baby puppets, there's a gay club designed around an abattoir and a London underground tube train that is stuck (crashed) into the side of a high rise. There is a feeling of fire, of energy in its landscape. A space that seems dangerous, repulsive and alive. It was very tribal and felt hedonistic but never individualistic. There was a unity in appreciating it, enjoying feeling uncomfortable and all being a part of that energy. The South East Corner was physically, as well as conventionally on the fringes of the festival site. Fringes of the urban environment have been explored as sites of resistance to the mainstream NTE (Chatterton and Hollands 2003) in a discussion on fringe space in the NTE Chatterton and Hollands (2003) illuminate the physical characteristics of space and the emotional impact this has on its participants, in urban space the fringe is explored as representing alternative, counter cultural forms of night life which is being pushed to further to the edges by dominant and commercial forms of the night time economy. The fringe links the physical location of the edges with the position that the night life activities have in wider society, linking both the geographical and representational. The fringe, its counter cultural and resistant properties aligns with the South East Corner, as a space within a festival that is on the edges in music taste, behaviour and attitudes. One reason for the strong sense of solidarity at the fringes Chatterton and Hollands (2003) considers is the traversing or movement across distance to reach the fringes of the city space (203). The effect of which unites young people, strengthening their collective sense of identity. There is a connection through shared experience of traversing space. The movement through space is explored in this work as pilgrimage in chapter seven. My work has identified fringe representations and constructions at Glastonbury and no other festivals have had a geographical 'fringe' or edge that embodies the same senses of dissent as the South East Corner, this may be down to the sheer size of Glastonbury enabling for a fringe to be possible, to feel removed is achievable with distance a property that the smaller festivals do not have. To give you an insight into the 'South East Corner', Figure 12 shows a montage from the Unfair Ground.

Figure 12 The Unfair Ground, Photo Taken by Author, Glastonbury, 2014.

There are five sections or fields in the ‘South East Corner’, each play with the notion of tribes, with ‘The Common’ and ‘Glasto-Latino’ both drawing inspiration from the traditional definition of tribes. The Common looks Aztec, it has an enormous cave venue in the centre with a waterfall and Aztec / Mayan gods and gold statues. Glasto-Latino is themed as Latin American / Mexican culture, it is decorated with candy skull décor and skeletons in the style of day of the dead celebrations. The final fields of the ‘South East Corner’ are Shangri-La and Block 9.

Shangri-La Counter Culture

Shangri-La & Block 9 was the nearest field to our crew camping behind Theatre and Circus, it starts to throb at 11 pm once the main acts finish their sets. There is a steady stream of people entering the Common, Unfair Ground and Block 9. It builds gradually until all energy seems drawn to or emanating out of Shangri-La, lights, lasers, pyrotechnics and the throb of music. Entering you immediately feel part of something, the counter culture of Glastonbury's counter culture, the naughty corner and the North-East Corner that thrashes with life until the suns up - you can walk through Shangri-La at 8.30 am and still see the clubs heaving, those stumbling out wearing nothing but a thong into the daylight heading for home. It is 6am, turning to the person next to me in "Hell" part of Shangri-La - he just beams, motions for me to come closer, the beats drowning everything out so I'm working on hand gestures and facial expressions to understand those around me. "Yeah, fucking Glastonbury!" he shouts I reply, "I know" he moves in again; "All night, all day! I love the naughty corner!"

[Shangri-La, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

This extract demonstrated how solidarity existed between individuals for minutes and moments compared with the longer experiences of festival families, previously outlined in this chapter. The temporary nature does not devalue these interactions. These moments hold meaning and strengthen senses of solidarity and unity. The moments reflect a temporality to which both neo-tribalism and communitas resonate. Although these acts only last for a short moment they are created out of a shared purpose and belonging in space. I was in the same space as this young man, an actor in the construction of this tribe. We did not know each other but he felt he wanted to make a connection with another member of the neo-tribe. A young man reflected on this kind of momentary interaction in his

questionnaires, the most important aspect of the festival for him was ‘seeing how people behave towards each other’ (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). The solidarity that was felt by people influenced the way in which they behaved towards each other, especially when they were united by a shared purpose and attitude towards the festival space. This young person picked up on the forms of sociality that took place and recognised that they were different from those that are taking place in ‘everyday life’. There exists in music festivals a shared love of the space and purpose for being inside it, a joy in those participating in it. There is an energy because of this choice, young people are expressing agency by choosing to be in music festivals and because it is a choice they feel connected to those that have also decided to become a festival citizen. It is a unique feeling and highlights how young people are not experiencing these levels of free choice in their everyday lives, outside of music festivals.

Festival solidarity, like tribes, are multiple and complex. There exists solidarity amongst and across the tribes on several scales, interpersonally, between a whole group and across the festival. A unique element to the ‘South East Corner’ was its mornings, the early morning revellers in the ‘South East Corner’ shared a common motivation, they succeeded in being the last ones standing at the end of the night and into the next day. Walking through the ‘South East Corner’ you slowly realise that after being surrounded by crowds all day you were suddenly part of a much smaller group. You can make out those who are left because of the improving light and the increasing instances of group hugging, jeers and cheers. You were one of the last ones standing and the motivation had been to ‘go hard’. Everyone present had the same intent, to stay awake for as long as possible, to party and dance for as long as they can. The South East Corner had a specific purpose and a corresponding survivor’s mentality. It is designed for the hard-core partiers and so has a corresponding strong sense of solidarity. Spaces within other festivals have similar processes, for instance ‘The Corridor of Fire & Bubbles’ at Beautiful Days is a space to chill

out and watch fire circus acts, without speaking those that gather there are unified in a common purpose, so are creating a different form of solidarity.

Once the shared purpose is lost and there is a return to the outside world, there is a subsequent emotional response. I found it very hard to re-adjust coming out of festivals, I called this feeling a 'festival comedown' which I discuss in greater detail in the Self chapter. I did subsequent 'double reflexivity' (Blackman and Commane 2012) which is outlined in the methods chapter, on this extract of ethnography:

> Festival Comedown
>
> Why did this have such a strong impact on me? I felt miserable. I had adjusted, changed. Why did I feel such a sense of loss? I had lost something, been removed. I was an outsider. I was mourning the loss of the community. We had created and lived as one and I felt now the distance, between myself and that space but also now in the everyday, these people weren't my people, we did not have a common goal or love anymore
>
> [Festival comedown, Ethnographic Note, 2014].

There was a loss of understanding that what was created, an emotional connection to the tribe and festival was lost. Post-subcultural theorists have examined the processes of solidarity within neo-tribes (Riley et al. 2010) but there has been little reflection on the effect of losing the social and emotional bonds that were created. Liminality, specifically communitas can shed light on the loss experienced once outside of the time of the tribe, Rill (2006) mentions the feelings of loss experienced in relation to rave culture. He has explored EDMC through the gaze of liminality and communitas:

> Complete egalitarianism and freedom of expression are not permissible in the structured society participants return to. Upon returning to this external social world,

> participants often express disappointment that the ideal cannot be sustained. But this, in turn, creates a desire to return to the state of communitas and live that ideal again: acting to preserve the longevity of the subculture (Rill 2006:657).

Rill (2006) argued that it is the loss of freedom from social and cultural norms that creates disappointment, in what I have called a festival comedown. Rill (2006) views the process of 'festival comedown' as individualistic, in line with characteristics of liquid modernity, Rill argues that it relates to a singular person's relationship between themselves and the 'external social world' whilst it seems more than this. There is a loss of the people, the community, the purpose and solidarity that is experienced in a festival context, which relates to more than an individual's personal concept of self in a festival context and in the social 'real' world. There is a greater loss than just a discomfort about returning to an outside structure, there is a loss of membership to a greater family, to the people. There is a desire from young people, a desire for the collective and to return to a communal atmosphere. The 'comedown' was an emotional response to individualism therefore, although individually felt, the wider social process hints of a desire to be in shared space with people with a shared purpose, in some ways the opposite response to individualism. Rill (2006) comments on the desire to return to the state of communitas but does not develop the analysis beyond an individual's desire to return to the space. The desire to return to festival spaces and the festival journey as a pilgrimage is something I discuss below in the chapter on spirituality.

The feeling of solidarity that is fostered in a festival context was particularly important for one young woman, who commented on the unity forged through a shared purpose, whilst reflecting on whether she had behaved differently since being at the festivals: 'Yes, more sociable with strangers and at the end of the day a shared purpose. You're here for the same reasons' (Questionnaire, 27 years old, Glastonbury, 2014).

6.5 Shared Experience

Having a shared purpose brought likeminded young people into the same space and facilitated new forms of sociality building on this, this section will explore how shared experiences between young people was strengthening these relationships. Goulding et al (2002) identifies three characteristics of liminal spaces in night clubs, the third is concerned with the liberation that is felt by young people in the club and the effect this has on solidarity:

> Post-liminal Rites: An alternative or more liberating way of being socially connected and a way of being detached from social structure. In the dance club there is an emphasis on common experience and a common emotional bond encountered through dance, and communal identity (Goulding et al. 2002:269).

Goulding et al (2002) highlights two key issues. First, Goulding implies that the liminal spaces of the club are liberating, an argument I develop further in the chapter on spirituality. Second, 'being detached from the social structure' is an element of liminal space and enables for new ways of socialising and bonding. As I have shown, this is true of festival spaces within which social and cultural norms are being subverted, de-constructed and re-imagined. In festivals there is an interconnection between the breakdown of social and cultural norms and solidarity, for Goulding et al (2002) this is a liberating process for young people. Liminal space illustrates how the social processes are co-creating the spatial environment. This section will show how shared experiences and the subversion of social and cultural norms, is a two-way process encouraged by the space. Young people are interconnecting in different ways because of the breakdown of social and cultural norms and new forms of sociality are emerging in their place. The next section of this chapter will look at the different norms associated with tactility and how this is encouraged by and encourages openness. Altered norms about tactility and openness will be explored to

identify how young people are engaging in alternative forms and ways of being with one another at music festivals, ways that are affecting and effected by the space.

6.5.1 Tactility and Openness

Greater tactility and openness emerged from fieldwork as an expression of shared experience. Tactility, intimacy and openness was observed and embodied within music festivals, it was through my membership of festival families that this element presented itself first as a theme and was corroborated by young people's empirical data. Tactility was a demonstration of trust between people and acted as a bonding practice. Through physical actions young people were making personal and emotional bonds through touch. A reflection on my ethnography, double reflexivity, demonstrated how this bonding is not present in my everyday life, not in the same way or for the same purpose as in festivals. Festival spaces are allowing this level of closeness and subsequent tactility, personal barriers are broken down, distance is reduced and social norms around tactility and touch are renegotiated. There were alternative forms of tactility that emerged and resulted in subsequent openness. This renegotiation was evident from a scene witnessed at Beautiful Days Festival in 2015:

> Poi Man
>
> It was late, maybe 2 am. Lying under the corridor of fire and bubbles a man is spaced out watching the bubbles, a stranger comes up and stands over him, legs either side of his body. He begins to use poi – flashing colour changing poi balls. The man doesn't flinch but watches the private show after a while another woman lies down with her head and face next to the first man looking up at the poi man. All three strangers, bodies touching. This act connected three strangers, no talking was done. Once the man finishes after about half an hour the first man gets up and gives him

> a hug and just says thank you. “Thanks mate fucking beautiful, love you man, really thank you so much”. The reply, “No worries man”
>
> [Poi Man, Ethnographic Note, Beautiful Days, 2015].

This instance illustrates the creation of solidarity and the subversion of social and cultural norms around personal space within a festival context. It only lasted for half an hour but it demonstrated how through a shared experience, norms were subverted and because of this subversion the experience seems unique and could not have happened outside the space. It prompted interesting reflections on trust and nature alongside how gender relations were negotiated and disrupted. In this instance the woman felt comfortable with her face touching a strangers and lying next to an unknown man, being under the legs of another, neither was taken as an act of flirting or seemed odd to the men. I looked back on this extract and reflected on what I had seen. Reflecting on this instance brought out further considerations for solidarity. Firstly this action stood out to me for several reasons, how it speaks to trust between young people and gender relations. How the space is used, specifically the ground, how bodies are interconnecting and acts of kindness. When considering gender and reflecting on the encounter I considered how an unknown woman put her face next to a strangers, a man demonstrating a level of tactility and trust which contradicts social norms outside festivals.The environment enabled the action to take place, the young people were using the ground to play and interact with one another. Another important aspect, that has been mentioned in regards to the Glitter and Glow Sticks family, was kindness. Kindness of the time given and the show of poi. It was a meaningful act to watch, in part because it was evidence of how one young person was giving time and action to other’s without gain. It was a selfless act of one, not having been asked, entertaining a stranger, just because he thought it would be appreciated. This contradicts the perception that there has been a rise of individualism, this action portrays how one gave for the communal apprecaition of others. However, it does embody the notion of liquid

modernity. There was utmost trust, this was not a ‘spectacle’ none of the people involved knew they were being observed, all seemed caught up in the shared moment. Their heads were touching, it seemed a genuine act of trust and a spontaneous one. In the context of the the tribe it felt safe for the young woman to trust strangers because there existed solidarity between all three strangers. Alongside trust, these young people were taking part in social bonding because of nature, alongside the enjoyment of the circus poi, they were lying on the ground, which again is a subversion of cultural norms, we don’t tend to lie on the ground. This act involved a high level of tactility, of touch and trust. A common aspect of shared experiences concerned nature, the shared experiences of the landscape alongside elements of the weather will be explored next.

6.5.2 Nature

The social role that nature plays is important in disrupting social norms. The way nature facilitates solidarity as well as how young people were using the ground, the landscape and nature to construct narratives was important to the construction of solidarity in festival spaces. Camping becomes a cultural symbol within festivals, everyone is taking part in camping and as a 20-year-old woman wrote in her questionnaire, ‘Camping in a large group creates a sense of community’ (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Shambala, 2015). It was process that created solidarity through shared experience of living in nature and close to nature in a way that young people do not in normal life. This disrupted the social and cultural norms about private space and sleeping are being altered in festivals.

> Double Reflexivity: Sleep.
>
> Why did this have such a strong impact on me? I felt miserable. I had adjusted, changed. Why did I feel such a sense of loss? I had lost something, been removed. I was an outsider. I was mourning the loss of the community. We had created and

> lived as one and I felt now the distance, between myself and that space but also now in the everyday, these people weren't my people, we did not have a common goal or love anymore [Sleep, Ethnographic Note, 2014].

The closeness that I felt was tied up with the way I was living in nature, the sensory was altered, I experienced extremes of cold, noise and touch. The tent represented a thin canvas between myself and others, metaphorically there was a thin barrier between myself and the festival tribe. Tent living was an equaliser experientially and emotionally and reduced the distance socially between people. There was something unique about the bonds that were made in festivals, formed in a TAZ and liminal space, that encouraged subversion of norms and reduced the distance between people. These processes were largely connected with shared experience and how the space created different norms based on the lived experiences within the festival. There was ownership in this, norms created in alternative space were naturally formed rather than assigned, indicating a bottom up response to sociality at festivals. Nature enabled more natural forms of sociality to emerge, based on a TAZ that encouraged openness of thoughts and practices. Post-subcultural theorists have examined the processes within neo-tribes (Cutler, 2003; Halfacree et al. 1996) of affective relationships and processes of bonding but there has been little reflection on the effect of losing what was created. The social norms about sleeping and living near others had been removed at festivals and the loss of it was felt outside.

6.5.3 The Weather

Shared experiences of the weather also acted to bond and unite young people in music festivals. Narratives of adversity will be explored in relation to pilgrimage in the chapter on spirituality but it is explored in this chapter by an exploration of how weather is articulated, narrated and functions to create solidarity within the festival, this section begins with an

ethnographic note from Beautiful Days Festival, a moment that began the conceptualisation of the impact of the weather and what social processes it facilitated.

Dropkick Murphey's Mainstage Beautiful Days Festival

It had rained non stop for an hour, it was drizzle at the start. It was bearable for the time being but two songs in the heaven's opened. A full on rain storm, no let up. Within ten minutes the crowd had thinned to under a quarter of what it had been. It was a very patchy crowd but one that was held steady. Once we realised this was it (the rain) jackets came off, shoes came off – it was easier to dance, my shoes were so heavy with rain and mud. The mud felt really good under my toes. The atmosphere was throbbing, jigging and bouncing. There was no-one not moving, the weather had given an excitement, urgency and movement to the band. Absolutely everyone there was giving it their all – they didn't give a shit and were beyond drenched. You made eye contact with those nearby and shared a glance, when the music peaked we grabbed the strangers either side and spun them, we pulled in the guy dancing on his own behind us. "No one should dance on their own"

[Dropkicks, Ethnography, Beautiful Days, 2015].

The rain acted to separate and unite the 'hard core' festival goers. As soon as the thunder started and umbrella's were no longer usable most of the crowd dissappeared. However this just stengthended the solidarity of those who were left. There is some work on the importance of space on the formation of subcultures (Malbon 1998; Borden 2001; Adler et al. 1992) but none to my knowledge of nature, the weather and the part it plays in formation of solidarity in groups. Primarily because the founding ideas of subcultural theory was focused on deviance in the city (Fine 2009; Cohen 2002), urban centers with different characteristics to the rural environment, inside areas where weather has less of a role in the construction of shared experiences. Similarly to camping previously discussed the

social and cultural norms about clothing had been disrupted. The weather was so wet clothes and particularly shoes became useless in protecting therefore they came off, we danced in the mud barefoot. This unusual action stuck with me, I have not since danced in the mud. It felt liberating and made me feel very close to those around me in the moment. We shared an alternative interaction, dancing barefoot and it was a liberating activity because it was against the everyday norms and it enabled for a closer physical connection with nature. The weather, similarly to camping, was an equaliser of the community, extremes of weather were met with a different attitude and exposure to it was embodied differenty, as shelter was a different construct in the space.

Another place where these feelings of solidarity came through was during a specific music encounter of discomfort at Bestival 2014, this instance is documented below:

> Craig Charles. Aperol Spritze stage. Midnight
>
> Walking, not walking anymore but running up the hill, past the world record breaking disco ball I came ot the spritze bar – more of a bar than a stage with a small courtyard with two tables with lights and umbrella's. Already there was a dense crowd before I made it into the courtyard. Being small I weaved myself in until I reached a table and climbed with six other's to wait on Craig Charles. Looking over the swarm of heads it was obviously beyond capacity. "Bring back Robot Wars!" His set lasted half an hour before it was pulled. During which time security kept trying to get his attention, he wasn't having it and ignored them. His set lasted 25 minutes of the scheduled 2 hours. The courtyard shook thumped like a heartbeat, the place rocked, literally people shook the staging, stairs, tables anything fixed got shook and shaked until Craig Charles was told to leave. . . . he was shuffled away by security. The place groaned with people shouting and leaving. Security moved anyone not holding tight out then fenced off the entrance with metal fencing and bodies. Half an hour later a crowd of 800 – 1000 was reduced to 100 and Craig Charles reappeared.

> Those that stuck it out including myself and a friend caught one another's eyes, a united understanding radiated, we stayed and we got an awesome intimate set. Room to bounce, room to scream and united in our victory of hanging in by hanging out and refusing to move on. We were asked to leave, when we were pushed, we had not gone. He played till 2 am. Teen spirit had the crowd throbbing, it was in your chest the overwhelming passion for this moment – not wanting to be anywhere else in the world but at this spot. "Here we are now ! entertain us" had a new meaning you could catch any eye, any stranger, turn to anyone next to you and you'd just beam at each other
>
> [Craig Charles, Ethnographic Note, Bestival, 2014].

We were closely bonded, bumped and squashed together. Space was reduced physically with our bodies touching one another and connected socially. It was very crowded and this intensity fuelled strong emotional bonds between the crowd. Norms about distance and body space were subverted by the will to see the gig and be part of it. It was embodied with additional meaning as we as a group had overcome the obstacle of being thrown out and moved on. On multiple levels solidarity was forming in a unique temporary context, there is a gap in literature concerning young people that look at specific moments and de-constructs the ways that unity forms temporarily but which can have longer lasting meaning. I gave this extract of ethnography to the young person I was with at the time. I was hoping he would add, challenge or change in whatever way he wanted this piece, a form of participatory practice. He didn't, which in itself was a form of involvement, what he said to it was that it made him cry reading it. Remembering that summer, the experience of the gig but more so how happy he was that summer, it brought back those memories. Like previously discussed, the 'loss' of festival solidarity is a strong sensation and this young person said that the ethnography reminded him, in a good way, of good times, with great people. As with Blackman's (1998) observations of the New Wave Girls I found myself

drawn in and absorbed in a highly tactile environment and created intimate relationships, this increased the sensory nature of the festival. It imbued it with deeper meaning facilitated by tactility, closeness and shared experiences. These were an important way young people were creating solidarity. In his work in clubs Malbon noted this breakdown and reconstruction of the space between people, ‘we search for times and spaces in which we can enjoy the experience of proximity to others’ (Malbon 1998:269). Malbon argues that young people seek out and construct group identities in spaces that facilitate close social and physical proximity, festivals don't have the constraints and walls of the club but the social interaction taking place are as strong as those that Malbon comments on. Young people are both actors and spectators (Maffesoli 1995:148), they both facilitate and form as well as follow and watch. It is an active engagement, I acted as both spectator, by being glittered, and actor by creating new rituals and meanings in festival spaces, these both constructed and perpetuated a sociality and solidarity within and amongst the young people I met. The final section of this chapter will look at rituals that are strengthening solidarity, rituals will also be discussed later in chapter seven on spirituality, where rituals are considered in relation to how the repetition of acts by young people solidify their shared purposes and experiences with meaning.

6.6 Rituals

Rituals cement shared behaviour and enriches it with meaning, ritual can also reactivate memories of shared experiences and enforces youth narratives that have been constructed bottom up and naturally amongst groups. Rituals are understood as repetitive actions enacted that have a deeper meaning or purpose attached to them, Turner (1969) highlights the effect of ritual, ‘The ritual system compensates to some extent for the limited range of effective political control and for the instability of kinship and affinal ties’ (291), highlighting the political nature of ritual, as resistance to lack of power. Blackman (1998) in his

ethnography identifies intimacy and ritual as an important element to group dynamics, Blackman expands by showing how ritual acts to solidify the tribe, 'The New Wave Girl's level of intimacy was intense, their collective rituals and basis of group behaviour supported and strengthened solidarity' (213). This quote demonstrates the role that ritual played in the connection between the young women. This sections will look at how the rituals present in music festivals were part of the process of uniting young people. First the rituals associated with music will be unpacked, these are rituals that crowds take part in leading to a discussion about how the closeness of the crowd can facilitate solidarity.

6.6.1 Music – Closeness & Crowds

Understanding festival actions, rituals, activities and the affect induced by listening to live music is important to identify how solidarity is created. By being amongst a crowd social and spatial processes are reconstructed and as the section on tactility showed, this reduction of space between people has an impact. As one young person reflected on festivals made her: 'more connected to people' (Shambala, 2015, 16). Connections is considered in relation to music festival crowds and emerged from ethnographic data, a recurring element within which was ritual. The first ritual reflected on will be the mosh pit, out of the seven festival sites mosh pits were witnessed in five. Within a mosh pit, body and sign language become integral. The noise from the music means that you cannot hear one another or communicate verbally therefore impromptu sign language and gesture become important. This is a shared language and one that is quickly understood and adopted by those new to the scene. To frame a discussion on moshing and pits I've drawn on ethnography from Bloodstock Festival and the band Sabaton:

> Sabaton - Friday Night.
>
> Friendly pit; those around the sides grabbing those that fell and those initiated into pit moshing were greeted farewell with slaps on backs and cheers.

> “Pitting” - with the thrash metal meaning that verbal communication was impossible you start to see the non-verbal communication, those indicating for eye contact, a hug on the shoulder a shoulder to point at the stage and make the horns to communicate that they like this song
> [Sabaton, Ethnographic Note, Bloodstock, 2015].

This piece demonstrates tactility with bodies being pushed against each other as well as strangers picking each other up, alongside illustrating the non-verbal practices that young people are constructing and using. Non-verbal shared rituals are constructed and constructing forms of solidarity. There is social and cultural understanding of norms in the pit and although these are not just active in music festivals they are creating bonds between people in the space of the pit. Mosh pits have been conceptualised as representations of ritualised and collective behaviours, ‘Moshing is a ritualized and furious form of dancing which combines physical aggression with collective displays of emotion’ (Riches 2015:314). Studies of metal music and pits have been limited to clubs and have not been considered in festival spaces or theoretically discussed alongside TAZ theory. Through the shared rituals in the mosh pit we see how young people are putting aside their own actions to take part in a larger social action of solidarity, putting aside their individual identities to engage in a collective one, mimicked the actions within the festival families. Young people are presenting uniformity but one they are actively choosing to engage in. The niche nature of Bloodstock Festival meant that the element of ritual amongst its participants was high. It was high because there was extensive insider knowledge associated with metal music. Insider knowledge is potent in the metal scene as it is a subculture which has been represented as aggressive and dangerous, marginalising members. It has a distinctive dress, style and identity strengthened through a resistance to oppressive portrayals of the music and associate behaviours; devil worship, aggression and heavy drinking. However, the insider knowledge is not a secret language but one learnt through participation, one

explained openly and which meant that there was a strong sense of solidarity and pride for the festival. Whilst ritual is communal it is often led by a leader, in the case of Bloodstock this was often instigated by the band but sometimes was led by a core group who pushed their way into the centre of the pit, then using sign language and gestures tried to provoke the direction of the pit. Bauman in his nuancing of liquid modernity and the groups that it produces states:

> Such spaces encourage action, not inter-action. Sharing physical space with other actors engaged in a similar activity adds importance to the action, stamps it with the 'approval of numbers' and so corroborates its sense, justifies it without the need to argue (Bauman 2000:101).

The scenes at Bloodstock fit with this concept. A crowd and a mosh pit needs numbers to work. You cannot crowd surf or bounce off each other in a pit without a tightly packed number of people. However, I would argue against the assumption that it does not create ‘inter-action’. Bauman implies that people work individualistically, and numbers increases validity without increasing ‘inter-action’ or engagement between people. Whilst numbers can add validity, this empirical work suggests that young people gain more from these experiences than Bauman suggests. A shared act of moshing is one way young people were enacting rituals, another is through the shared language that they were using to describe the unique actions and feelings within the festivals. Solidarity is forming through participation in rituals and belonging is developed by inclusion in crowd behaviours: pits. The inclusive and friendly engagement between people in the pit unities and connects young people, they are moments of extreme experiences; a high levels of noise, smell, movement and emotions. All of which facilitate connections between young people experiencing the same extremes, solidarity through closeness.

6.6.2 Shared Language

Shared language is a common theme which relates to a discussion of solidarity and spirituality in a festival context. There was a lot in body language when articulating festivals that was hard to capture empirically. There were several attempts at music festivals to describe emotions through the construction of festival language, not new words but appropriation of language that was then reconfigured to reflect festival unique experiences. The breakdown and change of social and cultural norms makes space for new forms of sociality and therefore a new language to describe it, one of these words was vibes:

> Vibes
>
> A lot of participants talked about VIBES – feelings of pleasure and happiness that festivals created within them and many talked about proactively seeking them to saty beyond the festival. Some called it inspiration but many expressed it and HOLDING ONTO IT. Implying that there is a an experience of loosing it. It disappearing and can be rediscovered in festival spaces. Defnitely an acknowledgment and emotional response whether they achieve it or not that these things are precious, important. And were very personal and deeply rooted and hard to explain.
>
> But not hard to explain – nuanced complexity. Yes in words but not to other festival goers. There's a shared understanding "Yeah you know what I mean"
>
> [Vibes, Ethnographic Note, 2014].

Festival vibes was one appropriated word that many young people used but if asked wouldn't be able to explain what they meant, it expressed the love, magic and joy they felt. It was inside that space only and was often re-found year on year. Language is important for creating and uniting groups, a shared understanding of a word without it needing explaining, with this knowledge I transitioned into an insider once I understood what was

meant with the language and vibes was one-way young people expressed how they felt and were understood.

6.7 Conclusion

By drawing on my festivals fieldwork I have demonstrated that, although the sociality and solidarity witnessed in music festivals may sometimes be short lasting, it can form the basis for longer lasting friendships because of the connections made in festival spaces. These have meaning beyond the space and are a major pull factor for young people attending music festivals. This chapter evidences the lived experiences of music festivals for young people, exploring how solidarity extends beyond its space and membership in its tribes, demonstrating one way in which festival boundaries are porous, they leach into the space and time beyond the festival weekend. Festival spaces show how young people want to live, what kinds of communities they want to be members of; equal, existing in close proximity to nature, living near and with one another, having high level of tactility and trust and feeling unjudged and able to express themselves. Festival spaces also facilitate the meeting of people in a space with a shared purpose and value. A form of hyper socialness takes place, young people have a strong desire to socialise in a way that they would not do outside the space illustrated by the many instances of talking to strangers. As the space is suspended of social and cultural norms, it has an emotional impact and influences the way young people socialise. More natural ways of socialising take place, based on talking and expressing in different ways based on different social and cultural norms about tactility and touch. This demands a high level of trust between people and because the space has a shared purpose, the community within it naturally trusts one another. As identified in the questionnaires, the most important aspect of music festivals for young people was ‘the people,’ a unity and solidarity based on mutual trust and understanding. Once young

people are free from social and cultural norms, in the TAZ, they can socialise in more natural ways. Connections made in the space, even if temporary, feel meaningful.

7.

Chapter Seven – Spirituality

7.1 Introduction

The space chapter showed how young people are producing representational (Lefebvre 1991) space and more natural forms of socialising which foster greater solidarity. This chapter explores another key theme that arose during fieldwork, young people's reflections on spirituality in a festival context.

The previous two fieldwork chapters have analysed communal relationships. In the next two chapters I analyse two contrasting themes, which focus around individual identity – spirituality and the self. This chapter explores the ways young people practice spirituality in a festival context by looking at the rituals that they engage in, the sacred spaces they create and the narratives and stories they are telling.

The young people that I met in music festivals between 2014 – 2016 stressed the importance of subjective understandings of spirituality. The forms of spirituality that I observed, and which young people were commenting on in their maps and questionnaires were individualised and personal interpretations of spirituality. They did not express spirituality in the context of a specific religious group but in relation to a spiritual process of playing with and feeling a connection to external forces not defined within the context of organised religions.

Within this chapter I highlight the process of meaning making which young people engage in at music festivals. I use the phrase meaning making rather than belief as the word 'belief' embodies cultural associations that are not useful to discuss emergent

spirituality at festivals. As Shannahan articulates, the term belief ‘is weighed down by the baggage of history, theology, formalised religion, sociological theory and anthropological observation’ (2012:319), rather than belief young people’s process and spiritual practices were a construction of meaning making. Furthermore, I never directly asked about belief systems, did not use religious language or enquire about spirituality during fieldwork. I witnessed and elicited information on spirituality from the language and practices that young people were engaging in. Highlighting the way young people are making meaning out of their surroundings and suggesting that they are exploring, playing with and creating elements of spirituality at festival spaces with minimal input from me as a researcher. This is not to say that the space, its architecture and history was not influencing young people as the chapter will outline, New Age roots at music festivals and festival architecture is influencing consciousness and considerations of spirituality in young people. Through narratives and discourse of festival spirituality young people are actively constructing a blueprint, in the contained space of the festival, of how they wish society to be. This reflects a utopian plan in which they form self-created spirituality. The different data types highlight the variety of ways in which spirituality was conceptualised. The maps generated data that centred on space, sacred space and traversing space either on foot or imagined. Pilgrimage was a theme and word that originated from young people and incorporated the movements and meaning associated with them that young people engaged with. It considers young people’s physical journey onto the festival site, one which they constructed narratives and stories around hardship and transformation. Young people’s spirituality was brought out through the process of data creation; by drawing maps, walking space and creating tales. These methods brought out the themes of rituals, myth and magic and sacredness. Ethnographic fieldwork elicited the rituals that young people were engaged in, whilst it was mainly the questionnaires that elicited concepts of festival vibes and reflection, possibly because when asked for a short roundup these themes are the first

to surface, whilst ideas of space are more thought out and come out through longer methods, such as the map making.

These spiritual practices and principles were evident during my ethnographic fieldwork, particularly in relation to the construction of festival space, through the creation of personalised festival maps. The first time that I experienced New Age spirituality was on the Tuesday before Glastonbury Festival opened in 2014. I was part of the festival staff and so had arrived three days before the attendees and spent my days roaming the site, watching the festival emerge around me. In my fieldwork journal I wrote about 'The Crossroads':

> The Cross Roads:
>
> Walking up from Avalon towards the craft field I stopped at the crossroads. There was around 12 people holding hands in a circle blocking the roads. They were chanting something, me and a few other people trying to cross stopped and looked quizzically at each other, they stopped chanting and started skipping in a circle in the middle of the cross roads. They seemed happy, one man touched the ground, "I bless that no one comes to harm, I bless everyone crosses in safety". They all came together, held hands once more. All smiling ecstatically and the man enthusiastically announced that the cross road was blessed. They mingled about, I went up to one woman and asked what they were doing, she said they were blessing all the cross roads before the gates opened
>
> [Cross Roads, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2015].

This fieldwork note illustrates my earlier point about the current of New Age spirituality embedded in the space, which is practiced and ritualised before the gates of the festival are open to the public. There is a belief system that is held by this counter culture, although there is no strict doctrine. Literature that explores New Age in the UK fall into two fields;

those that see New Age spirituality as a by-product increasing levels of secularisation in modern Britain and work that identifies the link between youth counter cultures, subcultures and New Age spirituality (Lynch 2007b; Hetherington 1998). New Age spirituality shares many similar beliefs of deep ecology and the sacredness of nature and of Gaia. Gaia is the earth and beliefs focus on nature as a central principle and site of worship.

The theme of spirituality emerged from the language that young people were using to describe their experiences and used to prescribe meaning to specific spaces. Spirituality also emerged through both types of mapping. It also developed during my own ethnography, running parallel with the emergence from young people, I also identified and absorbed spiritual elements and narratives at festivals. Spirituality was an unexpected theme, I had not expected to find spiritual discourses and it was an illuminating process to explore.

7.2 The Language of Festival Spirituality

As language was a primary indicator for both collective and individual constructions of spirituality, it is important to unpack spiritual terminology. First a discussion on the word spirituality. As discussed the word belief has connotations that are associated with organised religions that were not present in the data, a more appropriate frame has been taken from a wider discussion about the connection between popular culture and meaning making in a liquid society (Bauman 2000), where identities and senses of belonging have become more fluid and people are finding religious meaning in alternative, spaces of pop culture. As Partridge discusses there is a misconception that, ‘just because new ways of believing are not allied to the state or located in large buildings next to the village green they are therefore socially insignificant’ (Partridge 2005:2). Within a broader discussion of an emergent spiritual milieu young people are presenting as believing in unseen, magical and mythical forces individually and collectively evidencing a practice of spirituality. There

is no solid definition of spirituality in this debate but a prevailing agreement of a holistic definition for the term spirituality that is taking on new forms and meanings in a changing society. Therefore, spirituality is understood to mean the ways that young people engage in common ingredients of the spiritual or holistic (Heelas et al 2005) milieu; healing, magic, alternative medicines, New Age practices, as discussed in chapter three. Also, the practices that young people engender with deeper meanings that transcend the personal and physical to wider transcendental concerns about their well-being and the well-being of those around them.

A focus on spiritual themes within my research first emerged from empirical data: young people did not use spiritual terminology for metaphorical value alone to describe their practices at music festivals. Their choice to articulate using spiritual words and phrases held a deeper meaning. Emotiveness is an important element to defining religious language (Binkley et al 1969:19) and the language expressed in this chapter; pilgrimage, sacred space and ritual were intentionally used to define phenomena that had emotional meaning for those using it. These terms are uncommon in everyday life, suggesting that young people were drawing on their spiritual significance and associations to articulate how they felt about festival spaces. Bloodstock festival emerged as a festival whose participants had created an established mythical discourse and language to describe the landscapes developed through narratives and stories. Although spirituality was present at all the festivals Bloodstock and Glastonbury stood out, for different reasons, as holding strong spiritual meaning for their participants. Bloodstocks spirituality emerged from the festival maps and in discourses of myth and legend. Glastonbury's spiritual centre also emerged in the festival maps but also in the narrative constructions of sacred space. Language and constructions of space will be unpacked in more detail in a discussion about emergent spirituality at music festivals.

The data from Glastonbury festival included the most prevalent use of spiritual language; sacred, heaven, spiritual. It referred to the feelings that the participants had about the space and their behaviour within it. However, all the other festivals shared themes that can be classed as spiritual and although religious language is not used the characteristics can be seen in the informal ways that young people are enacting spirituality and are constructing spiritual places, rituals and a unified community through shared beliefs. Ethnographic data in festival spaces yielded a lot of data on alternative spiritualities which have a strong presence at music festivals.

7.3 Rituals

Rituals highlighted the collective ways young people created and instilled spiritual meaning into their narratives and practices at the festival. Young people's spirituality initially expressed itself in the collective form of rituals, which I identified in responses to the questionnaires and ethnography, but not in the festival maps. Whilst the maps provided data about the construction of sacred spaces they did not generate any evidence of ritual.

Rituals are constructed through collective repetitive actions and language prescribed with meaning. Ritual was outlined in the chapter six to evaluate how they construct bonds between people, in this chapter they are considered as processes that young people play with in the construction of pilgrimage and in their transcendence nature in relation to music, dance and moshing. There was a combination of ritualistic behaviour taking place at music festivals. Ritual that was created by young people, bottom up and naturally alongside, rituals that the festivals produced. The constructed ritual by festival producers included burnings, parades and space. In a study of spiritual practices outside of organised religion, De Groot writes 'we see a mosaic of rituals. Official and informal rituals'. (De Groot 2008:290). Pilgrimage and moshing were informal rituals that young

people were practicing at music festivals, whilst the burns and spiritual spaces are a combination of both. They are a combination of informal and formal because as chapter five discussed the space, architecture of the festival is subverted and reorganised by its participants, this is true of the spiritual spaces and events (burns and parades) that the festival construct. Another collective example of spirituality was pilgrimage, that transformed, through language, from a practical element of travelling to festivals to embodying meanings and significance for young people.

7.3.1Pilgrimage

> The experience changed my life and I never looked back
> I've been to every one since and I feel the elastic band
> (Beans on Toast, 2013).

Beans on Toast, a British musician, describes his relationship to the Glastonbury festival like an elastic band in his song, *Can't get a gig at Glastonbury* (2013). He is referring to the emotional response about attending. He feels the pull, as described in this song, articulating the draw of the festival. This emotional desire to return year after year is what I refer to as a pilgrimage. It is an emotional response and desire to return, which is an emotional understanding outside of the space, and is articulated as the journey once inside. This journey becomes a tradition, a concept that appeared throughout the questionnaires, referenced four times across three of the festivals:

> Question: Reasons for coming to the festival?
> 'It is a tradition' (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Shambala, 2014).
> 'a bit of a tradition amongst my friends, the first festival I went to as a teenager (Questionnaire, 18 years old, Glastonbury, 2014).

yearly tradition (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Bloodstock, 2015).

Pilgrimage was framed by young people as a tradition, an annual journey. The responses showed that a motivation for young people to attend was a desire to continue a tradition and undertake their annual pilgrimage. The definition of pilgrimage is a broadly considered, researched and conceptualised term but one which has some core elements; ‘Pilgrimage is a dynamic, multifaceted and consciously spatial phenomenon that involves rich relationships between people, places, performances and beliefs’ (Scrivens 2014:258).

This work draws on Scrivens (2014) broad definition encompassing primarily the geographical and sacred elements, geographical because a significant process is the traversing of space by young people either collectively or expressed as a collective narrative, for the purpose of building unity after the event. Also, importantly spiritual because of the way young people are ascribing spirituality meaning to the journey and the festival as the destination. Scrivens identifies four characteristics of pilgrimage; movement, place, belief and transformation (2014:251). I would add to the four, a filth encompassing the social. The movement through space is a social act, either by being in company or articulating journey narratives back later to unite through shared experiences, one example of the social was experienced as I entered Bloodstock:

Cattle

Slowly making our way in we came up to the main entrance and a pack herded in between fences. The temperature was peaking and I was very aware I didn’t have sun cream. Of the six or so entrance gates the crowd moved sporadically which meant you ended up shuffling up to strangers either side of you whenever the people in front moved. I started chatting with everyone we ended up parallel to. The movement was a crawl, the wait was two hours and yet it wasn’t a bad experience. Everyone was chatty and friendly and at no point did it feel uncomfortable even

> though we were carrying everything and in very tight, crowded fencing with the heat. It should have been a very stressful experience but the people, the banter, jokes and excitement was what was bouncing around, we got through it together, everyone was suffering together and it was a fantastic feeling
> [Ethnographic Note, Bloodstock, 2015].

The trouble, mission and trial narrative that emerged from this event was re-told and discussed throughout the weekend. Everyone recollecting on how they got in, sharing stories and co-constructing a narrative of overcoming, as pilgrims, to reach the destination and get into the festival. Scrivens (2014) characteristics are all present from young people at music festivals, particular attention is paid to the transformation elements of pilgrimage in the next chapter, eight.

Little academic literature has assessed secular pilgrimage, one space that has been considered has been Strawberry Fields (Kruse 1993:156), Kruse concludes that people undertake pilgrimage to feel exceptional experiences. A close connection to the motivations that encourage young people to music festivals but which does not account for the spiritual language that has been expressed. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter and in chapter three, spirituality has changed therefore so has spiritual practices; ‘As forms of religious belief and spirituality evolve, so too have practices of pilgrimage to sacred places’ (Nilsson 2018:22). Music festivals are sacred spaces to young people, which is explored later in this chapter, and the spiritual meaning inscribed in them by young people means that the journey into the space takes on a deeper emotional meaning, young people are articulating an emotional response to moving from one type of space and into another, transcending one identity and engaging in new forms of spiritual ways of being. Scrivens work on pilgrims suggests the importance of the process, ‘we need to foreground the transitional state or temporary identity of the pilgrim’ (Scrivens 2014:258). This transitional state is interlinked with the following chapter on self, there is an emotional and spiritual

process taking place, which acts to strip, change and alter the pilgrims sense of self to enable new forms to be absorbed (Scrivens 2014).

The concept of pilgrimage to music festivals came out in the questionnaires alongside the ethnography: ‘A lot of our friends come from the town we’re from to the festival, like a pilgrimage. Camping in a large group creates a sense of community’ (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Shambala, 2015). This was the response to the question, *Why did you chose to camp?* Illustrating how the process of pilgrimage is taking place for the purposes of building community. Pilgrimage, therefore also serves the function of unifying and consolidating solidarity amongst young people. Festival pilgrimage has been explored by Sherry et al, in the context of the Burning Man festival in Nevada: ‘the promise of religion in its ancient etymological sense: a binding back to the source. Pilgrims have flocked to Black Rock City to recover a primal experience of immanence and transcendence’ (Sherry et al. 2007:123). For young people travelling to Burning Man, there is a desire to return for an individual spiritual purpose, to reconnect and experience a type of transcendence that is uniquely found at the festival, young people are articulating the same feelings towards music festivals in the UK.

Alongside pilgrimage, which has elements of movement and the traversing of space, there is a pilgrim’s return narrative. Festival goers explain of their return “home” each year to the field. The questionnaires highlighted this trend:

> Question: Do you feel / act differently in music festivals?
>
> ‘*feel at home*’ (Questionnaire, 25 years old, Bloodstock, 2015).
>
> ‘*Yes – at home, content, everything is as it should*’ (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Shambala, 2014).

Young people reflect on the first part of the question, choosing to describe how the festival changes the way they feel. Both use imagery of home to describe the emotional way in

which they see the festival. It evidences that young people have an ownership over space and belonging associated to it, even though it is temporal. In their work with young people Wilson and Milne, articulate how lack of 'spaces in which they [young people] felt 'at home' had affected their well-being, both in terms of their mental health and their sense of being able to imagine a positive future' (Wilson and Milne 2014:141). Therefore, demonstrating the significance and importance of young people constructing 'home' narratives, at festivals this shows how they have an emotional response resonating with positive emotions of belonging. Wilson and Milne suggest that a space where young people feel a sense of home can facilitate and encourage the ability to imagine a positive future (2014), an aspect of utopian thought that will be picked up in chapter eight.

Another way in which young people are articulating being pilgrims is through the way they wish to see themselves, as this answer from Shambala festival shows, Question: What is the best aspect to camping? *Bohemian feeling, carrying your home on your back*' (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Shambala, 2014). This second reference to home highlights feelings of a nomadic lifestyle, which also has roots in New Age communities, and identifies that this young person considers home to be where they place it. Through pilgrimage a connection with place is constructed, a distinction between home and away is created and young people are distancing, themselves spiritually, physically and emotionally. A sense of ownership and authenticity takes place, by taking part in the pilgrimage, by feeling nomadic young people are experiencing authentic self and identities at festivals, an important element and identifier in subcultures. The concept was later critiqued by bricolage, (Muggleton 2000:131) but authenticity still resonates at festivals, where there are practical elements to overcome which unite insiders and creates an authentic festival experience, an important element of which is the pilgrimage. The return 'home' narrative is important as it highlights the function of pilgrimage, to bring young people back to the space they feel belonging and acceptance.

A trial narrative also perpetuates within pilgrimage, one which is built on endurance and tribulation, ‘The validity of the pilgrimage is linked to physical struggles, onerous paths and complex undertakings’ (Scrivens 2014:256). This occurs amongst festival goers and is constructed through emotive analysis of the journey to the site; traffic, long waits, long walks with bags and ends with a satisfying reaching of the site. I felt like an insider at music festivals because I understood the journey, all festivals have their own version of the trek, some hillier than others. The trek or journey acts as a process to unite young people through a shared experience of hardship but also signifies a strong insider / outsider practice, this becomes most apparent at festivals that have day ticket holders. There is an instant divide between those you can identify as ‘day’ people, identified through their cleanliness, and those that had camped for the weekend. This knowledge of the journey crosses different festivals and years. Although the festival is temporal the journey narrative and the knowledge and experience stays with you as a festival goer and is often reinforced in journey narratives through repetition, thus creating ritual. Looking at the different ways young people are portraying pilgrimage above; the joy of returning and secondly a trial narrative, it is evident they are in the process of meaning making through these two acts. The first shows that young people speak about the space in relation to ‘home’: a potent connection that demonstrates the importance of the space to them. The second demonstrates how young people are creating bonds and connections to form tribes either by strengthening common and shared experience or by excluding those without pilgrim knowledge.

7.3.2 Moshing

Moshing continues the thread of collective social, spiritual activity. My research took me to the Bloodstock Festival, a thrash / heavy metal festival in the Midlands. Although there are many cross overs between festivals there was one aspect that predominated at Bloodstock which was the practice of moshing. It occurred at Glastonbury at the Leftfield Stage for

AntiFlag (US narco-punk band) and Bestival with Skindred (Welsh reggae, metal band) but happened more routinely at Bloodstock. I was not only an observer but participant in several mosh pits. As Riches discusses in her ethnography of the metal scene in Leeds, active engagement was essential to her access to the scene (2015). Moshing comes as second nature to me personally, as it was the first teenage youth scene that I participated in and felt a sense of belonging to. Since that time, I have diversified my tibes and scenes but I retain a strong insider response to metal music. Moshing refers to the act of dancing, rocking and thrashing to metal music. The way in which metal music as a genre has been researched is problematic. Literature discusses the scene in terms of its relationship with alcohol (Riches 2015) or suicide (Lacourse et al. 2001) but rarely suggests that it can be a positive influence on the lives of young people. I want to challenge this interpretation and suggest that moshing as a feature of heavy metal music is a unifying activity, one in which young people connect with one another, engage in shared activity and bond, through this ritual of dancing. In a mosh pit, the space where moshing takes place, there are a set of strongly understood rituals that go with moshing, these were witnessed through my ethnography and recognised because of my own experience of growing up in this scene, which meant I quickly identified the ritual, practices and rules when they were taking place. The perception of mosh pits as violent spaces, especially for women (Krenske et al. 2000) is a common conception.

There is communication taking place in pits through; glances, eye contact, nonverbal communications and sign language throughout the time of a song being performed. It was essential because over the loud music you can’t use verbal forms. This type of communication was used by those in the pit (the area beneath the stage were the crowd danced) and also by the artists initiating a pit. In the ethnography I describe one of many types of pit practices, a wall of death:

Wall of Death

For a wall of death to take place the pit splits into two, with hands flailing indicating wall (mime like motions) the crowd separates into two facing each other. It is at this point that you try and lock eyes with someone on the opposing wall, you try and connect with one person, someone you may have never met to engage them. It is the junction with the music and once the chorus kicks in the two groups to run at each other in unison to start the pit off

[Wall of death, Ethnographic Note, Bloodstock, 2015].

There are rules and practices that are understood by all in the pit. There are several types of pit: wall of death, circle pit are a couple of examples. These are ritualistic spaces, ritualistic as young people are engaging in repetitive motion and movement that is collectively understood and whose meaning, although not verbalised, holds significance and power. Young people are communicating, their love of the music with each other through their self-expression, energy and movement.

The purpose of the ritual of moshing was to unify the audience to jump on the beat to the music and created shared experience and memory, thereby consolidating the tribe. The euphoria of the music, the repetitive beat, deafening at times, and feeling a crowd of thousands of people all in sync with one another has a spiritual affect. The close connection of bodies (Jordan 1995), ritualised behaviour, music and a shared purpose creates an exceptional, spiritual experience that is self-constructed by young people.

7.3.3 Fire

Festivals can become a space which is transformed both physically and emotionally by its participants, transgressing time and location to become a mythical place where legends are constructed. Fire plays an important part in alternative considerations about space and the emergent spirituality. As discussed in chapter six, shared experience and memory

create narratives and traditions that become retold and can take on a mythical persona. The stone circle in Glastonbury is one such place to which young people have ascribed spiritual meaning. The stones themselves have only been at Glastonbury since 1992 but have strong sentimental and spiritual meaning. It is also the location for many of Glastonbury's organised rituals. I will return to the stones in a discussion about sacred space further in this chapter but first I will discuss the stones and the role they play in organised, formal ritual at the festival. To start and end the Glastonbury Festival each year there are a series of rituals that take place in the stone circle. The first of which is the burning of a wooden effigy. The effigy burning is a communal act which is given ritualistic meaning by its repetition each year, alongside the rhythmic beating of drums. It is given spiritual meaning by its symbolism and by marking the start of Glastonbury, a tradition but it is also flanked with spiritual activity. There is a big build up with fire runners making their way through the crowd, this takes place in the same way each year. Below is an extract from Thursday night at Glastonbury and the burning of the effigy at the stone circle. The effigy is a wooden creature, in 2014 ethnography it was a Griffin, 2015 it was a phoenix. Both mythical creatures, with magical connotations and symbolism for New Age spirituality.

Glastonbury Paganism

> Very pagan – a lot of fire throwing dances, fire lining the way to the effigy of a Griffin that would be burnt. Like a sacred ritualistic practice, the moon was bright after an amazing sunset that really made you aware of the countryside you were in, lights coming from the temporal town that had been created, none from outside, it really did feel like a bubble. It begins with a few dozen fire runners and dancers entering the field from the Healing Fields, they are carrying fire. They proceed up the hill, through the stones and towards the effigy. There are old religious practices, fire worship, events happening at sun rise and sunset that are common at Glastonbury. The festival doesn't offically begin until the effigy is burnt and it is tradition to end the

> festival by seeing the sunrise on the Monday morning at the stone circle. The stone circle is the epicentre of these practices there are ritualistic traditions that many observe and which hold strong, spiritual meaning to many Glastonbury goers
>
> [Pagan, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

The practice of seeing the sunrise from the stone circle on the Monday morning of Glastonbury is not an organised event like the burning of the effigy but it is still one which many people participate in. Illustrating informal ritualistic practices that young people are engaging in at festivals. The practice also emphasised the hybrid nature of the space, which both embodies elements of the day and night. Unlike studies of the night time economy, festivals transcend temporal behaviours of the 'night time' and these get merged and re-constructed in the unique space of the festivals.

> <u>Sunrise Friday Night</u>
>
> It has been an amazing night, the night begins to lighten and we (the 7 of us remaining from our group) slowly orbit ourselves away from the Unfair Ground and the thumping bass and towards the direction of the stone circle. Like zombies we meet others making their way towards the hill and the stones. The site is empty once you leave the South East Corner, quiet. It must be about 5 am or later, I make a point of not keeping time in festivals, it would ruin the night, knowing how close the day was. It is so quiet away from the corner!! Once we enter the field we see them. All the quiet and peaceful souls that have navigated here to watch the sunrise, cuddled together in blankets. You know it is the beginning of the end when you walk up the hill. It is almost bed time, almost the end but not until you see the sunrise over the site on the last night of Glastonbury. We make a cuddle puddle of bodies to watch it rise
>
> [Sunrise, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

This chapter has evidenced both organised ritual (burning) and informal ritual (the sunrise) at Glastonbury. Regardless of their origins whether deliberatiely constructed or informal and organic they both hold a strong spiritual meaning for many young people. There is worship of the space, the people in it and the soul of the festival. In both instances the stone circle is crowded with people who year on year witness these events. Fire leads onto a discussion about sacred spaces, much of the official fire at Glastonbury occurs in the stone circle.

7.4 Sacred Spaces

Spaces were being embodied with meaning and symbolism by young people at music festivals, through spiritual practices the space and landscape was being instilled with deeper meanings. The sacredness of space and how young people reflect on utopian spaces was a common discussion point at festivals. The word sacred was used three times in the questionnaires; one participant reflected how Glastonbury was ‘The first festival I ever went to. The place I have had some of the most important experiences of my life. ‘A sacred place for me. The heart of the world’ (Questionnaire, 35 years old, Glastonbury, 2014). Spiritual language was present in several responses from the questionnaires, sacredness and reverence of the space was especially strong among Glastonbury participants, I suggest that this is because Glastonbury has a longer history than the other festivals and because of its beginnings as a free festival and refuge for the New Age Traveller community. When describing Glastonbury one young person explained: ‘This is my idea of heaven. It will be my one and only holiday of the year. This site is sacred to me’ (Questionnaire, 30 years old, Glastonbury, 2015). Spiritual language is constructed by young people and there is something about the site which leads them to express themselves spiritually. How the young man describes it as his ‘Heaven’ shows how it is embodying aspects of a perfect space, a utopian place. EDMC subcultural research has

discussed spirituality associated with musical groups, and the ‘(re)appearance of the sacred’ (St John 2006:3). It is through the lived experiences of space and constructions of sacredness items in festival spaces that spirituality is examined, questionnaire data and walking interviews eluded there are informal and formal sacred spaces, formal spaces would be for instance, the Healing Fields and the stone circle, whilst informal ones would be trees and Shambala woodland.

7.4.1 Trees

An example of informal sacred spaces and objects are trees, one example was ‘The tree to the right’. This was one of the few trees that stands in the field with the Pyramid Stage at Glastonbury and when the field it crowded served practical purposes, its first was as a meeting point, for myself and the Honey Badgers. It also took on a deeper meaning when it started to rain;

> Lionel Ritchie
>
> We were waiting out to see Lionel Ritchie. Me and one other had stayed at the tree. The sky turned grey but knowing this was the only way to meet people up again (mobile signal never worked or it was too loud to hear) we figured we were going to get wet, not a pleasant experience when there is no way to dry off! We moved into the very centre trunks of the tree and sheltered. Within minutes of the rain the tree cover was packed with people huddling for shelter. Thankfully huddled together, by this point myself and my friend were sat on each other’s laps as well as having a lot of other strangers close in, sat on each other. We stayed relatively dry, anywhere else I would have been miserable but everyone was chatting, laughing sharing brollies and there resonated a sense of keep all dry, together we’ll be fine and when the rain stopped we were the only people left in the field, we had stuck it out and become instantly close to those that had stayed with us

[Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2015].

From that point onwards, I began to love that tree because of the memories I had under it and its practical use. However, more than that it had transcended into a unifying moment and memory, which I would describe as sacred. If I went again and found it gone I would be very upset because of what the space represented - it was more than a tree. It was given meaning practical, sensory and social and became a sacred object, every Glastonbury Festival since I have revisited the tree. It is an important object for community and the festival. I found out through the Glastonbury social media grapevine[27], that this tree was one of remembrance for many people, several people travelled to the site when the festival was not running to scatter ashes under the tree and each year made the journey back to remember loved ones. It is not on hallowed ground but for many it had become a sacred space, with enough spiritual meaning to act as a shrine and grave to loved ones. Trees were recurrent sacred objects across multiple festivals and through multiple data sources. Objects, places and experiences take on sacredness in festival spaces. A reflection from P went into detail about his experiences and creation of a sacred space. Below is a reflection from P R.A remembering the previous night's adventures:

> A simple tree stands alone, covered in fairy lights, I'm a moth, I sway and can't help myself but gravitate toward this warm sight and see a group of people sitting around. 'Greetings' I said and after a beat my band in unison repeated 'GREETINGS'. Not gonna lie, that both made me feel powerful, and freaked me out a lil. The group nodded us to sit down and asked why we had come. I commented on their beautiful tree and pulled out my glow stick. 'A gift for your tree' they were all on a similar wavelength to me as we spoke, it was like talking to close friend

[27] Glasto Chat facebook group, available at: https://www.facebook.com/groups/glastochat/

(P R.A, Bloodstock, 2015).

P R.A saw the tree as a sacred object to the extent that he made an offering to it and to those who had decorated it. The tree was one of a very few that sat in the Bloodstock site. My own ethnography identified it, independently. The campsite was in Ironwood, which was on higher ground than the rest of the site. This meant that it was the quietest place on site and alongside the interviewee I had spotted the tree and had been captivated by the way in which it was decorated:

> Fairy Tree
>
> Lit up centrally in the field was a tree covered in fairy lights with a sign “Party Tree” sat around a fire pit by the side of the tree are a circle of people all drawn by the lights and the sign sitting and chatting – all welcome
>
> [Ethnographic Note, Bloodstock, 2015].

The tree encouraged worship, remembrance and congregation. Facilitating communal spiritual practice. Young people, including myself, were drawn to the tree. For a natural object to be worshipped in this way, on higher ground held power. It was temporal at Bloodstock, for the duration of the festival. Although in the case of Glastonbury the ‘tree to the right’ retains its sacredness throughout the year as being a site of remembrance.

7.4.2 The Stone Circle

On the Glastonbury site map the standing stones are at the far end of the site and on a hill overlooking the rest of the festival, the area is called ‘Sacred Space’. The stones themselves are not ancient, they are well known to have been placed in 1993. However, they hold spiritual meaning for many people at Glastonbury. There are other fields that have been inspired by Glastonbury’s New Age spiritual history: the Field of Avalon is

fashioned like old England. Avalon is associated with the town of Glastonbury and is believed in New Age circles to be the gate way between worlds. There is also other spiritual language utilised in the names used at Glastonbury - Heaven and Hell are parts of Shangri-La in the South East Corner which is the late night / early morning clubbing field. The Healing fields theme in 2015 was the four elements; earth, air, fire and water. Spatially the field was segregated into four quarters and corners, Pagan and Wiccan in its creation. Each was decorated with associated installations, for example; wind chimes and flags were in the air quarter, whilst 'fire' had fire pits and was decorated in reds and oranges. The map in Figure 13, shows a young person's perception of the Stone Circle at Glastonbury: they have drawn circles radiating out from the hill demonstrating the importance of the site to them. It was the most important part of the festival.

Figure 13 Festival Map, 26 years old, Glastonbury, 2015.

It was the epicentre of the festival for him and correlates with the activities that were taking place in the space: effigy burning and watching the sunrise on the Monday morning. It is a visual representation of the spiritual significance that the Stones hold and through further

elicitation using the map he stated how he too always watched the sunrise, showing a triangulation of ethnographic, map and questionnaire data.

7.5 Meaning Making

This chapter has explored spiritual practices that young people are engaging in (rituals) and spaces that they construct as spiritual. This last section identifies processes of meaning making that young people engage in. They are doing this through constructed narratives around magic, refection and utopias. This illustrates how young people are in a creative process of construction, creating new stories and narratives which embody spiritual processes of meaning making during their times at festivals. They are detailing a sometimes fictional, sometimes real perception and ideology about the kind of society and community that they want to live in.

7.5.1 Myth

There were many instances where participants used language of myth and legend to describe festival spaces and experiences. Whilst often commonly interpreted as implying something is false or untrue, the term myth means a story that has the power to shape belief or to persuade. In such terms the narratives forged in a festival context can be described as forms of myth:

> Questing
>
> I ran back to my tent where I received my first task 'seek out the ironwood tree' The princess says handing me a warm brew of mushroom tea and a glow stick, it is an interesting taste but with each sip I feel myself emboldening. After a little time we were ready to set out (potato in tow) to IRONWOOD (P R.A, Bloodstock, 2015).

The young person is referring to psilocybin mushroom. There is a body of literature concerning hallucinogenic, recreational drug use and spirituality (Maclean et al 2011; Thompson 2014) that consider how drugs can facilitate spirituality, it is noted here, although important the focus of this analysis is centred on the way that this young person chose to externalise myth symbolism and romanticise the nights events, rather than the effects of the drugs, therefore the analysis concentrated on what was the central theme for him, myth and legend.

The re-telling, creation of tales and stories did not just come through the reflections from P, they were also captured visually. On the map (Figure 14) the participant is using language and explaining events in a mythical way, drawing on ideas of princesses and questing to describe events that took place. The mythical way that festivals are described reflects the way the space is perceived. The way that this young person chose to re-present the activities of the festival goers, in a mythical way, highlights how they are imbuing the space with spiritual meaning. They are active in the process of meaning making and creating alternative ways of seeing the space and the community in it, in alternative counter cultural ways. Bloodstock festival had the strongest sense of campsite identities and divisions associated with it than any other festival. In the Space chapter this work explored this aspect and concludes that this is due to it being a small site and arena, therefore which camp site you stayed in meant a lot. You were hard core if you stayed in Mitgard camping, located in the centre of the site as this was the site for late night happenings and the central cross roads of the festival. Participants in the other camp sites would go questing to Mitgard once they were drunk enough or in the right mood. The mythical narrative also appeared through the maps that participants created, Figure 14 shows a Bloodstock Festival map beneath which is written the tale that you can see on the right-hand side of the map.

Figure 14 Festival Map,18 years old, Bloodstock, 2015.

Extract – Map 17

The Goblin horde are invading the three kingdoms being commanded by an unseen hand. One of the three kingdoms has already fallen to the mythical trance of the Mordonian Sorceress will they discover who before they fall too

(Map 17, 18 years old, Bloodstock, 2015).

Of all the ways that this participant wanted to portray Bloodstock she chose to present it as a mythical fictional representation of warring camp grounds, Hell Beasts, Elvin Homelands and Goblins. Mythical narratives were common place and situated the young people in a make-believe land of myths and legends, the space became even farther removed from

the real world outside by introducing legend into the way in which the space was narrated back to me and this was a shared and accepted way of being and talking, a norm in the space. Using old English language was common as was jousting, below is an ethnographic extract about bin jousting:

> Bin Jousting
>
> Bin jousting is a thing of legend at Bloodstock, so much so that all bins are chained down on site now. They are not the standard wheely bins but large metal dumpsters on wheels. I get told about this sport which has taken on an even more crucial role in legend since the secruity have cracked down on it.The sport is to line two up and have 6 – 10 people pushing them against one another with a person in each to see who falls out first. The bins act as horses and the crowd holla for their chosen champion
>
> [Bin Jousting, Ethnography, Bloodstock, 2015].

Bin jousting is a Bloodstock tradition, as was discussed in relation to pilgrimage, there are a set of traditions that are picked up and continued once young people are back at the festival. It also showed a subversion of the space by young people approprating bins to use for alternative purposes of battling. Legend and mythical behaviour has become such an integral part of the imagination of Bloodstock that old language and legends have become the norm for the young people that are at the festival. Learning the history of bin jousting and the rivalry between the campsites is all part of being initiated into the scene. It is through participation that you slowly start to feel like part of the community. There is a continually evolving and dynamic process of meaning making within the festival that you canot help but feel a part of, an alive act of myth making, legend telling and a spiritualising of objects, people and the landscape.

7.5.2 Magic

Magic was ever present in all the festival sites, people dressed as fairies, fairy grottos and workshops to make fairy wings were popular. Magic was embodied through costumes, installations and space where magic was practiced. Similarly, to myths and legends as discussed above, fairies and magic are socially normalised in festival space illustrating a subversion of social and cultural norms associated with spirituality:

> Wood Nymph
>
> During a night in the Healing Fields I got talking to the person to my left sat around a fire, she self defined as a wood nymph, with complete sincerity and this didn't provoke in me huge scepticism and quizzicalness that it might do outside of this space as I am indoctrinated into the space and understand how magical personifications, alter egos, and identities are common place and socially acceptable
>
> [Nymph, Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

Music festival spaces construct alternative spaces where spirituality has the ability to be explored through play and exploration of magic. The space is filled with magical references, one young person described the space as 'enchanting' (Questionnaire, 23 years old, Shambala, 2015) whilst other responses focused on how the space made them feel, 'I feel magical' (Questionnaire, 18 years old, Glastonbury, 2014). Young people are in the process of creating myths, legends and magic through their narratives of the space, there is a lived experience in festivals where young people are creating their own alternative spirituality founded on shared rituals and an atmosphere of acceptance. Music festivals are constructed as alternative places providing space for alternative ideas of spirituality to be practiced. Often many of the installations in festival spaces are magical in nature, demonstrating how the festivals produces and facilitates consideration of magic.

Glastonbury has a permanent stone dragon on site and Bestival and Shambala have magic woodlands where mythical creatures are commonplace.

Figure 15 The Glastonbury Dragon, Photo Taken by Author, Glastonbury, 2014.

Figure 16 Shambala Woodland Unicorn, Photo Taken by Author, Shambala, 2014.

Using magical and spiritual installations the festival promotes a shared identity, based on alternative spirituality and magical symbolism. The beauty of the festival transcends the everyday. Festivals have created an alternative space and one which is based on possibility, and hope, which centres on the concept of utopianism. Festivals are creative spaces bringing together the possibilities of magic and of mythical abilities, fantastical beasts and an alternative way of seeing the world. It is by being exposed to these installations and creativity that unites young people, they are talking points between

strangers, shared recollections outside of festival spaces and are part of a wider construction of an alternative community.

Direct reference to the spirit was made on five occasions during the questionnaires, this included both reference to the spirit of the festival but also the young person's own spirit, mostly though it concerned the imagined festival spirit. One young person reflected how, 'When you leave you get out of the spirit, bohemian feelings'. (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Shambala, 2014). This young woman was reflecting on the loss she felt losing her connection with the spirit of the festival comparing it to bohemianism, which has its roots in the counter culture movements of the 1960's and the New Age Movement.

7.5.3 Reflection

Reflection was a theme that emerged when looking through my data in relation to young people's creations of spirituality. Through the questionnaires young people were commenting on the way that festivals affected them on a personal level and acted as a space and time in which to reflect. The questionnaire data yielded strong evidence about how young people attributed festival spaces with an ethos involving environmental issues; with 19 responses about the positive messages that they got from festivals directly linked to the way festivals promoted their alternative views on the way to live in the world. The idea that festivals are spaces of reflection also came out as a strong theme through the questionnaires with seven young people stating that it was their favourite aspect of festivals, indicating that the festivals architecture was encouraging young people to reflect. Young people commented on the impact that festivals had on their ways of thinking: 'You're away from everything' (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Glastonbury, 2014), this was the response to the question, *What is the best part of festivals?* It showed that being geographically away from the everyday was a positive element for young people. Another noted that they felt 'detached from everything at home' (Questionnaire, 29 years old, Shambala, 2014). Young people are articulating that they enjoy having physical and

emotional distance from their everyday lives. After this separation from the everyday was established, the questionnaires yielded information about how this separation created a space which could be used for reflection. One young person stated that positive effect that this reflection had on her, ‘I feel more able to explore ideas of what I want to do in life when I’m here. I can better ‘dump it at the gate’’ (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Glastonbury, 2015), ‘dump it at the gate’ in this sense was the participant explaining how she leaves her real-world issues outside of the festival space and by doing so it enabled her to explore herself and think about her future. Shambala festival facilitated the concept of ‘dumping it at the gate’ through an art installation, the Emotional Baggage Booth (Figure 17). This booth appears most years and allows participants at the festival to write on post it notes their emotional baggage and like the participant said, leave it at the gate of the festival. This is a positive practice, actively encouraging young people to leave their everyday practices, rituals, beliefs and baggage to explore new and alternative viewpoints which can include spiritualities. By shedding norms, it allows young people to play with new forms.

Figure 17 Emotional Baggage Stand, Photo Taken by Author, Shambala, 2014.

One participant reflected on how festivals made her happier and how she found reflection a positive practice, 'I just get happier – so enlightening' (Questionnaire, 27 years old, Shambala, 2015). The young women connected reflection with enlightenment, an almost spiritual realisation that the space has played an important role for her emotionally. Alongside the individual effects that reflection had, the questionnaires also showed how reflection acted to unify young people within the festival. One participant commented that the festival was a 'Time to reflect. Discussions with like-minded people. Open my mind to

channel the universal energy' (Questionnaire, 29 years old, Shambala, 2015). Young people feel the positive effects of having a space and time free from restrictive norms, in which the everyday can be placed to one side to explore and reflect on themselves. From the response we can also see a hint at an alternative view point on spirituality, channelling universal energy is a concept held for some who practice New Age spirituality and we can see how it is linked with both reflection and festival solidarity.

Another way in which young people had connected deeper meaning to festival spaces was by identifying an existential force, or feeling, that only existed in festival spaces. The word 'vibe' was a common one used to explain how participants felt in the space, whether they were feeling good vibes, or the festival vibe, it appeared repeatedly amongst responses and my own ethnography. It was considered in chapter six and is now explored in relation to what 'vibes' can tell us about young people's spirituality.

Vibes came up in the questionnaires and the word was referenced six times, one participant, when talking about Shambala festival, stated how there is 'a really good vibe - allows me to have piece [sic] of mind' (Questionnaire, 26 years old, Shambala, 2015). Another participant wrote the word vibe as an answer to most of the questions on the questionnaire demonstrating the importance of it to thier festival experience. It was the overarching word that best described what they felt in festivals and was foregrounded in capitals and that is all that the young person wanted me to take away. Its simplicity was telling. The word vibe is unusual in that it doesnt appear regularly outside of the space. It seemed to capture something of the unseen in festival spaces, much like the way in which a religious person would explain feeling a presence or a spirit. The 'vibe' was an unseen but felt entity and one very hard to explain, I did ask several times what participants meant but they found it hard to explain it was however, a word that was instantly understood by other festival goers. This has commonality with the way in which organised religion expresses religious belief between believers and to the outside world. There are two important aspects to the 'vibes', first of all they share the aspects of spirituality because

they are unseen but tangible for many young people and secondly they are part of a festival language and ritual that is festival created. They bind people and connect young people together by having a shared understanding of how spirituality is felt in festivals. Reflection was important for young people, music festivals were not only exposing them to altenative values but allowing space and time that facilitated reflections on self. The outcome of which is discussed in the following chapter.

7.5.4 Freedom and Utopia

A key outcome of spiritual practices, language and processes was the facilitation of future thinking amongst young people. Encouraging thoughts about alternative, hopeful futures. Music festivals were eliciting positive images from young people about change, transformation and hope, hope that outside spaces could embody elements of music festivals.

Utopianism was a major theme to emerge from the field, participants referred to festivals in a way that suggested they were utopian in spiritual terms several times implying sacredness and spirituality. The sense of hope came from an affinity to the space and an appreciation of the community it created, ‘I feel a sense of hope about how I want society. I feel like this is where I belong’ (Questionnaire, 33 years old, Glastonbury, 2015). This is one young person’s reflection on his idea of a utopian community and space, highlighting how festival spaces are for him, and many other young people in this study, reflect the way in which they want to live. Richards et al (1998) highlights this in his research on the German Love Parade: ‘In the equal, loving space of the rave, young people create a potential blue print for the whole of society’ (Richards et al. 1998: 173). Similar processes of the construction of an ideal community are apparent in festival spaces, it is strengthened through a strong sense of belonging and ownership over the space, ‘I am simply in a place I can genuinely be myself. I am the same - It is others that treat me differently’

(Questionnaire, 20 years old, Glastonbury, 2015). This quote demonstrated how it is not only the space which young people feel reflects their preferred way of living, but the community that it creates is one which young people want to be part of and want to invest in. They feel it is an inclusive space because they are constructing it and creating their own spirituality within it.

7.6 Conclusion

Young people have found a re-enchantment (Partridge 2005 and Lynch 2007a) at music festivals, articulating spirituality through language and practices that reflect a deeper reflection and consideration of the future. There is a unique type of spirituality created within festival spaces by young people and a utopian way of living has developed. Young people attribute spiritual meanings to the space and construct alternative, utopian ways of living and seeing the world which are counter cultural. Spirituality is encouraged by the influence of New Age thinking that underpins the festival landscapes. Through these influences young people are encouraged to explore and reduce the space between themselves and nature, nature being fundamental to some of the earliest constructions of spiritual belief and worship. Music festival spaces expose young people to New Age philosophies, to the land itself, nature and crowds of likeminded, open people. Within that context young people discover and invent rituals, through ritualistic ceremonies and events, and this appears to impact upon their sense of spirituality, leading to an exploration of alternative ways of understanding the world. Although, potentially temporal music festival spirituality does show that in a space and time that allows them to reflect, and where young people feel safe and a sense of home, they consider alternative ways of being; spirituality and socially. Importantly also reflecting on a positive future, re-considering their values and how they want to be in the world.

8.

Chapter Eight – Self

8.1 Introduction

The body is instrumental to challenge modernity's 'straightjacket' (Lefebvre 1991), we feel the effects of social control, structures and discourses through the body and can simultaneously reject and resist these processes through the body physically and mentally. For Bey, 'the body becomes all time, the beloved all space' (1991:37), acknowledging the body as a key site of resistance and power. This chapter explores the process of identity formation and ideas about the self that are forged at music festivals and assesses what this can tell us about the longer lasting influence and impact of festivals on young people. The festival body is the focus for this section and the work emphasises the interrelationship between emotions and appearance, what this tells us about the types of bodies, identities and selves that emerge in TAZ free from social and cultural norms.

The concept of the 'self' as a theme emerged during fieldwork and, in particular, during times of reflexivity outside of the festival context. Reflexivity on the self was the idea that I came back to the most in the ethnography and in the practice of double reflexivity (Blackman and Commane 2012). Festivals promoted processes of transformation through transgression which became embodied. The lived experience facilitated the practice of reflection on, and the subsequently change of, the concept of my-self and my identity. It was also an ongoing theme within the qualitative questionnaires and in the imagined maps. Several of the maps included the image of the drawer, a portrayal of their bodies and an active refection from the participants on how they understood their festivals selves. Self brings with it a convergence of the previously set out themes; space, solidarity and

spirituality, which all play a role in creating identities within the festival. Kruse, describes the ‘discursive terrain’ within subcultures that creates alternative types of identity, what she identifies as oppositional identity (Kruse 1993:34). The festival terrain, the physical space co-constructed by, and creating, solidarity and spirituality are interrelated with the self and identities that young people are presenting and embodying.

Self is understood in this chapter as the expression of festivals at the site of the body, the micro and personal way young people are representing themselves at festivals and the emotional impact that festival spaces have for young people. Self incorporates a discussion on festival identities and analyses what forms these identities take with consideration of dress, beautification and bodies, it then looks at the consequences and effect that music festivals have emotionally for young people.

8.2 Introducing the Festival Self

Music festival spaces allow for an exploration of personal identity, dress and expression. Dress and appearance has an emotional impact on ideas about the self. Young people are playing with identities in safe transformative space outside of social cultural norms of everyday society. This chapter demonstrates how young people express feelings of freedom and how festivals are allowing them to articulate and play with new identities. Young people articulate different forms of dress and appearance which then impact on their sense of happiness, openness and freedom. The rejection of social and cultural norms takes on a physical and embodied form for young people and influences the way they choose to dress. As Bakhtin remarks on carnival:

> During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's

> revival and renewal, in which all take part. Such is the essence of carnival, vividly felt by all its participants (Bakhtin 1965:7).

Bakhtin describes how laws are re-negotiated, this work has shown how social and cultural norms are re-negotiated at festivals. Showing how in the festivalesque TAZ freedom is embodied, felt and presented by young people. Freedom is expressed emotionally by responses from young people and physically in how they choose to express themselves and their festival identities.

Liquid modernity has been conceptualised as fragmenting social groups and the ties that are creating solidarity. The multiplicity of social groups and tribes within a liquid society also encourages multiple senses of self, belonging and identities. Festivals can reveal the ways fragmentation has impacted on aspects of the self at the micro level and site of the body. What young people are doing in festival spaces in relation to fashion, dress, identities and beautification of their bodies arguably reflects this fragmentation. Through the lens of consumption Goulding et al identified two ways social fragmentation is internalised for individuals, as dystopian and alienating, as isolating and superficial engagements that bring negative consequences, or as liberating for its consumers, in this case she was commenting on the consumers of rave (Goulding et al. 2002: 264). Young people are responding to fragmentation and articulating ideas of freedom and liberation, aligning with the second form of fragmented self from Goulding et al.

The practice of changing the self, the transformative action that takes place on an individual level is important, as previously discussed space is socially produced (Lefebvre 1991) therefore, festival citizens, their identities and tribes are constructing and are simultaneously being constructed by space. The individual is a window into the nature of festival spaces. Transformation of the body and the individual reflects a sense of freedom at music festivals.

Within the questionnaires one question directly explored young people's experiences of, and their perception of themselves: *Do you feel or act differently at music festivals?* It was broad and open ended to allow for elaboration from the participant or, if it was not an important issue the opportunity to side line it and move on quickly. However, almost all respondents indicated that they acted and felt differently during festivals. Only three out of 140 responses on the questionnaires suggested that they did not act and behave differently at music festivals. Overwhelmingly the responses were positive. Of those that answered positively many elaborated indicating how music festivals changed their emotions and perceptions of self, it is these responses that frame and structure this chapter. Combined with the question, *Have you behaved differently whilst being at the festival?* Young people were articulating freedom, of expression, actions and thoughts. This question elicited interesting responses, personal reflections from young people on how the festival had changed the way they thought about their identities and emotions, how it had changed their personal conception of self. Ideas about the self emerged independently amongst the respondents during fieldwork. The imagined mapping revealed the micro level of the self visually, many young people wanted to include a self-portrait within the map and consider how they had personally changed because of their experiences at music festivals. The self-representations from young people were demonstrating an internal process of reflection on how the space was affecting them on an individual and personal level.

To discuss 'self' several terms need to be defined, as well as the theoretical and disciplinary lens that this chapter will see 'self' through. This thesis has taken a critical approach, self is therefore understood as produced by context and socially constructed and shaped. When I talk about young people's ideas and conceptualisation of the self, it is through a geographical perspective of scale, focusing on the micro level, the scale of the body and the level of the emotional. Also, it is geographical by discussing the role that space plays in constructing these ideas of the self and how these relate to belonging and identity. It is also sociological by exploring ideas of identity(ies) constructed in festival

spaces, pulling from subcultural perspectives, examining self in relation to a larger group. Finally, I will suggest that analysis of festival spaces enables us to understand how young people construct hyper identities and to what extent these are reactionary, transformative and playful.

8.3 Body

Ideas about the body are socially and culturally created, and therefore, have changed across history in relation to the culture in which we find ourselves, and the corresponding taboos, values, norms and attitudes emerge I context. There have always been those who reject society's perception of how we should and should not be using our bodies and those who seek to challenge cultural norms. Within the festival space it is the norm to see nudity, female and male, and more revealing clothes. This is an example of how festivals are a progressive space where expressions of nakedness and nudity are less judged in a context that re-negotiates norms, social norms outside festivals are different to the understandings of the body within. As Castells states, 'It is easy to agree on the fact that, from a sociological perspective, all identities are constructed. The real issue is how, from what, by whom, and for what' (Castell 2010:7). In festival spaces, I argue, the 'How'? is through play, the space and social collision of people. The 'whom'? Is one another, the interplay and solidarity between people and to some extend the music festival ethos and festival roots, its history as a counter cultural space. To answer the 'for what'? It is for leisure and fun. An underestimated sphere of research beyond the boundaries of sociology.

There is not one understanding of the body but competing, complex understandings which individuals and wider society may hold at different times. This chapter does not theorise a single construction of the body and self but highlights the different ways the festival effects norms related to the body and how this differs from the outside perceptions of the body and what the emotional effects this can have. This two-way process,

interrelating and co-constructing what is perceived to be the norms of the body, underpins the nuances and complexity of what I describe as festivals bodies.

8.3.1 Camouflaging

I hadn't been to a festival in over five years and was very uncertain. I had also never been to Glastonbury before. So how do I fit in? I called my pre-thinking camouflaging:

> Packing
>
> I think the first time it properly dawned on me how close Glastonbury was, was when I was digging out clothes, not ordinary clothes but those clothes I love - tie dye skirt, monster hat, neon blue hoody, those that outside of festival season don't see the light of day. This started me thinking, I already know instinctively that no one would criticise what I wore. It didn't matter how ridiculous I looked. I was looking forward to wearing crazy clothes, weird hats, wellies and a dress. I was excited to express myself – the wear the things I love; glitter, neon and glow sticks
>
> [Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

I went through a process of finding clothes that I wished I had the confidence to wear everyday, but which stay hidden until I go to festivals. My confidence grew in later years but even in this, my first fieldwork I was excited at the thought of what that space could offer me, a freedom to dress and appear how I liked without criticism. The process and thinking through what was possible in the space brought with it the feeling of freedom, the anticipation of being able to wear whatever I wanted and look however I chose to:

> Pre-Festival Camouflaging
>
> In anticipation to going to festivals in summer 2014 I subconsciously started to camouflage. I bleached my fringe. My hair had been subtly showing off colour in

> various ways of dip dying but I hadn't bleached such a big section before. I dyed it pink, blue and green which I affectionately nicknamed my bubblegum fringe. This fringe has generated quizzical looks and complaints from the general public but I've come to realise by standing out / having unusual, bright hair it enabled me to blend into festival space – 'stand out to blend in'. My camouflage, disguise sounds too covert
>
> [Ethnographic Note, Glastonbury, 2014].

Before I had gone to the festival I was aware that there was a difference in social norms and expectations of dress. I physically and permanently changed my appearance by bleaching my hair, a practice I had done for over 5 years. I knew instinctively that my appearance would not be judged at festivals and even though I was outside of the space, the freedom of expression leaked into my everyday life and encouraged me to express myself in anticipation of the festival space. I was starting to create my festival identity, one which I knew others would recognise and accept, this identity was becoming an important aspect outside of the space, demonstrating how the perceived idea of the festival was influencing my sense of self. This chapter now moves from bleach and pre- festival transformation to bodies-in-space (Lefebvre 1991:302), the beautification that festival bodies present and what this tells us about the space.

8.3.2 Beautification

The following elements of beautification fall under the term 'second skin'. This is a phrase that is commonly used by anthropologists. Schildkrout (2004), describes how 'second skin' can refer to masks, wigs, body paint, and other impermanent forms of body art (2004:321). The art of dressing up and changing appearance is also considered in relation to acting, playing a part and performance. So, are young people performing, acting out a character? or are they being their true selves? This section argues it is a combination of the two. There

were elements of playing with persona and identities but also evidence of longer lasting impacts, this chapter argues that this play has an emotional effect for young people, explored in the last section of this chapter.

8.3.2.1 Glitter

I spent a lot of time reflecting on the use of glitter during festivals – the symbolism of application, the ritual of putting it on and the practice of sharing it. The intellectual place I ended up was the consideration of the body as a mirror, (Synnott 1993) a mirror on which is reflected social and cultural norms. Glitter symbolises a mirror. The Oxford English Dictionary defines glitter in the following way, 'Shine with bright, shimmering reflected light. (of eyes) shine with emotion. Noun – Tiny pieces of sparkling material used for decoration'. (Oxford English Dictionary 2007). Glitter reflects, it is a mirror and glitter on a festival face reflects other festival faces. It stands out, shines and embodies the nature of the body social, identities reflecting the social context in which they have been created. Bey states, 'Look in the mirror & try it...(for one of your masks is the face of a sorcerer)' (1991: 61). Encouraging people to play with identities, masks and evoking the persona of a sorcerer. An identity of power with the ability to change, create and challenge. Here we see Bey is using the mirror as a tool of empowerment and play.

The reflection of light that takes place in a mirror is a process shared with glitter and represents an alternative image, a reflective surface which is being worn as a uniform at festivals. The process of glittering connects the art of reflection to affect and material decoration. Glitter was present in my ethnography, with one festival family being dubbed, 'Glitter & Glow Sticks' because of the way in which I met them through the application of glitter. Glitter was the most commonly mentioned beautification ingredient during fieldwork. There was not a specific question on dress or presentation of self in the questionnaire but it emerged through answers to the question, *Do you Act / Behave differently in festival spaces?*, participants answered – '*more relaxed, glitter!*' (Questionnaire, 23 years old,

Shambala, 2015), '*More glitter, less sleep*' (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Shambala, 2015). One participant who stated their gender was 'other' put glitter twice in their response to the questionnaire, - *Do you feel different since coming to the festival?* '*Yes – glittery*' and in the response to the question about festival goers reasons for coming: '*glitter*' (Questionnaire, 28 years old, Shambala, 2015) was what they wanted to put across. Another stated that he came to Shambala because it was '*smaller, more relaxed, glitter*!' (Questionnaire. 24 years old, Shambala, 2015) and two stated that they acted differently by wearing more glitter, (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Shambala, 2015) and (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Shambala, 2015, 35) one of those was a young man. Glitter was being mentioned across genders and age range and was a key element which young people wanted to impress in their responses about the space. Glitter also featured on two imagined maps, purple glitter surrounded the note 'Freedom to be artistic and open your mind to new things' as shown in Figure 18.

Figure 18 Imagined Map, 30 years old, Shambala 2016, E1.

Freedom will be explored later in this chapter as part of my discussion about what impact music festivals are having on the emotions of young people. However, in this map we can see the two linked, the participant made a connection between freedom, trying new things (exploration) and glitter. Freedom was the most important aspect of the festival for her, so she foregrounded it in glitter. Much like the way in which young people were foregrounding their bodies with glitter, it was a statement of freedom. Glitter had become symbolic, of the festival, it was a freedom of expression and to a new form of identity. Another festival face essential, and form of beautification, was neon face paint.

8.3.2.2 Neon Face Paint

I enjoyed putting face paint on others, more than having it on myself because I could see them, make them neon, colourful, U.V, glow in the dark and pretty. I could not look at myself, there are very few mirrors at a festival, and I was not so interested in making myself pretty. It was not until a second round of reflection on this process that I started to remember how many people I engaged with through the practice of face painting. The orange, yellow and pink neon I dotted, mixed and smeared across strangers faces happened at every festival. I took part in transforming others, as much as others transformed me. When reflecting on the act itself: how I felt engaging in it and how I felt being the one acting as transformer several things occurred. Firstly, it was a thrill to have control over another's appearance, to see their reaction at something they would not have done themselves. Secondly, it was a process that involved two people, a connection and tactility which was very personal. Touching someone's face and having someone touch yours is a strong indication of trust, especially as most of the interactions occurred between strangers, the process of changing someone's appearance gave rise to bonds of solidarity previously discussed in chapter six. Considering the act of drawing I realised there was an element of agency being taking away and of trust being granted. I often got people

commenting, ‘you’re drawing a penis aren’t you?’ It seems trivial but people thought your kind act was not kindness but self-serving. Once they saw the results, they were very grateful. I was supporting a change, a neon mask. I did it to transform them into a neon face in the night. For my second reflection tactility was considered, initially in relation to how it creates solidarity as discussed in chapter six, but it is worth noting that it also makes memory and the feeling of another putting on face paint reminded me of being a small child again.

The sense of touch is an important one, the act of putting on face paint to yourself or others is sensory. The gel is smooth but dries quickly onto your hands, it goes all over and does not wash off easily. Many nights I have forgotten I’ve been using it until I see parts of my arm illuminate under the black lights. It is also a sensory act to have it put on you. For someone to touch your face, have their fingers close to your eyes embodies a trusting relationship. The festivalesque ‘destroyed and suspended all alienation; it drew the world closer to man, to his body, permitted him to touch’ (Bakhtin 1965:381), within the festival, like the carnival, young people are empowered to touch as distance between themselves and others in the space are reduced. The tactility of putting on face paint is also sensory: it is cold going on, an odd combination of heavy on your skin but clingy. It soon changes to a feeling of dryness, flakiness and lightness. The process is odd, I draw using my fingers: drawing stars by blobbing a large drop then using my finger to drag it out and up to create a point. I also spot the end of the nozzle to make circles. I have noticed many people close their eyes, much like getting your hair washed at the hair salon, having someone apply paint is pleasant, relaxing and sensuous without being sexual. It also brings you into closer proximity with another person, whilst applying face paint I need to be closer to someone than normal comfortable body space allows. With strangers, we have a comfortable distance to which we like people to inhabit. This is broken down when I face paint. Speaking from the side of the applier, I do feel closer to the person who I have just beautified, we connected and have bonded through touch. The sensory nature of painting

is important, it makes it a practice that is unusual, not the norm, exotic. Synnott describes the sensory in *The Body Social*, in which he emphasises how the sense of touch and tactility is overlooked, 'whose physical, psychological and social importance has been particularly underrated, and which is so strangely taboo in the Northern European' (Synnott 1993: 5). As it is taboo in the world outside of festival spaces, actions like touching a stranger's face and applying paint takes on an active counter cultural meaning, encouraged by the space and defining and invigorating it with new social and cultural norms. Moving now onto a discussion of the effects of this sense freedom, from outside social norms, has on the body.

8.3.3 Drugs

Drug stalls, vendors and peddlers were a common feature in Bakhtin's carnival (1965) and they continue to be at the contemporary music festival. Drink and drugs were commented on across all the data sources but predominantly in the questionnaires. The larger culture has implications on the site of the body, as Synnott describes, the body social negates the body physical (Synnott 1993:5). He argues that the social nature of the body over powers what is beneficial to the physical health and well-being of the individual. At music festivals the alternative society enabled for experimentation with drugs which facilitated a privileging of the body social over the health of the individual. Drink and drugs done to excess are negative to the body physical but may be encouraged by the body social, indicating a subversion and altering of the societal norms. The admittance of taking of drugs reflects a form of body sovereignty from young people, they were empowered in festival spaces to take, ingest and experiment in ways that they could not outside. Young people 'doing what they want to do' (Riley et al. 2010:46) is an articulation of sovereignty, agency and a political act of reclaiming ownership over their bodies. I consider drugs and drink as it was commonly referenced from young people as the way in which they act and behave differently in the space, it was the prominent differentiation between themselves, inside and

out of the space. There were 26 references to drugs, these included specific terms; K hole[28], weed, mushrooms, class A's and amphetamines.

One young woman stated, festivals are, 'A safer and more honest environment to take amphetamines' (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Shambala, 2014). Evidencing that drug taking at music festivals was a different cultural phenomenon, an 'honest' one with different connotations and motivations than outside. This is not reflected in the way that wider society see drug taking at music festivals. Young people also referred to being intoxicated and two participants referred to being 'fucked up' – *Since arriving have you behaved differently than you would do at home?* 'Yes – getting constantly fucked up ☺' (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). I am unsure whether this response related to illegal or legal stimulation, but the tone of the questionnaire suggested it was referencing illegal drug use. Several young people only took drugs in festival spaces, 'Yes – would experiment with drugs and would take them openly. Only have drugs at festivals' (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Bestival, 2014), 'Yes – drink alcohol during the day / more frequently. Smoked some weed, which I don't normally do. Considered buying drugs then didn't cause they're overpriced and scary' (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Bestival, 2014). Drug consumption, along with binge drinking has been associated with marginalised subcultures and groups of young people, especially men (Connell 2005). This has been constructed on the presumption that is it young men who are involved in 'riskier lifestyles'. My work found that all genders were active in drug taking activities. Indicating that in festival spaces, this risk is diminished, although the quote above shows it can also still be a 'scary' practice.

In her 2002 study Measham (2002) found that young women showed greater self-policing and self-control in their drug taking than men, contradicting my findings but

[28] a state that occurs once you have snorted ketamine (ket), ketamine is a general anaesthetic which renders the user paralytic and in what is referred to as a 'K hole'.

showing how the festival space may be changing drug taking behaviour in women. Two thirds of male respondents stated that they engaged in drug taking activities at music festivals and one third of female respondents, suggesting that festival spaces align with Measham's club study. I suggest that this higher level of drug taking, than outside of these spaces, is due in part to recreational drug use as opposed to habitual use. Also, that the alternative construction of leisure space means that young people are taking drugs for recreational purposes. Drugs, like drinking alcohol were used at different times of the day, a practice that may normally take place in toilet stalls, in the dark or at night, was present in the daylight and in the open. One participant stated how they acted differently by taking 'drugs, early drinking, doing nothing during the day' (Questionnaire, 30, Shambala, 2014), demonstrating how drug cultures and norms were being reorganised at festivals becoming more open and not time restricted. Often alcohol consumption and drugs were commented on together, the illegal drug and socially acceptable one, did not have a distinction for festival attendees, 'Yes – taken drugs, drank more alcohol' (Questionnaire, 26 years old, Shambala, 2014). Another participant linked their dress, drug consumption and improved confidence, they acted differently at music festivals by alternative "dressing to more drugs than normal, and speaking to strangers with confidence' (Questionnaire, 18 years old, Shambala, 2014). Drink, drugs and dance often came in collaboration, drugs can stimulate dancing and young people commented on how the space enabled and facilitated more consumption, one acted different by 'excess drinking, drug taking and I don't dance at home' (Questionnaire, 23 years old, Shambala, 2015). This young person's reflection shows how he is taking part in activities that he would not do 'at home' or in the outside world, again eluding that the space emancipates young people to engage and be more active than they would be outside. Others were specific describing what they were doing and taking, 'I've taken more drugs - weed, booze, 2-cb[29]' (Questionnaire, 27 years old,

[29] 2-cb is a mild hallucinogenic which can be snorted or swallowed.

Shambala, 2015). Both drugs mentioned are depressants or downers and both stimulate the practice of self-reflection. For many young people taking drugs is primarily a sign of youth, acting out or evidence of rebellion. Mills as far back as 1973, in his work *Young Outsiders: A study of alternative communities*, argued that, it (drug taking) 'should be seen chiefly as a major agency of transformation' (143). Whilst some drug takers may be introspective, for others drugs enabled sociality, one indicating that they, 'took lots of drugs and danced all day and chatted to randomers' (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Shambala, 2015). Demonstrating how solidarity and community was partly being constructed chemically.

Alcohol drinking was a prevalent response in the questionnaire data, the level at which young people were drinking was shown to be higher in festival spaces from the expressions they used to discuss their behaviour. Also by the emotions they expressed about their practices at festivals, as one put it, festivals meant, 'More drinking and less worrying!' (Questionnaire, Shambala, 2015, 18). Alcohol cultures have been theorised as a gendered practice, predominantly amongst young men (Thurnell-Read 2016). However, amongst the respondents it was an even spread between young men and women that stated that they were drinking more in festival spaces. Showing how social constructions that are present outside festival spaces may be re-negotiated, allowing young women to act against gendered and cultural norms of drinking. The act of drinking came from a feeling of being free to do so, the effect of alcohol also facilitated liberation; 'because I'm under the influence (being drunk) I act differently, and I feel more free at a festival (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Shambala, 2014). The time of alcohol consumption was also a notable comment by young people, demonstrating how social and cultural norms around acceptable drinking periods were suspended. Young people were 'Drinking in the day' (Questionnaire, 31 years old, Bestival, 2014) and 'drinking as soon as you get up' (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Bloodstock, 2015). Times of the day to take drugs and drink were re-negotiated at music festivals, as discussed in chapter five, time itself was being

reconstructed and the activities, routines and expectations in the space were being reconfigured by young people in the space. Drink and drug consumption is a way in which young people are self-presenting themselves in festival spaces, (Ross-Houle et al. 2016) informed by a context they feel empowered and freer than in their normal everyday lives. This is evident in the empirical data, there are different discourses surrounding drink and drug use in festival spaces than outside this space. This is both fuelled by a freer environment and fuels the feeling of freedom, as Riches, et al. (2015) states, alcohol consumption 'heightens feelings of affect' (99), emotions are heightened by alternative drink and drug cultures and distance is yet again reduced by a renegotiation, this time chemically. Following on from this, I now turn to the corresponding 'hyper' identities that are formed whilst experiencing this heightened affect, and how these are expressed in festival spaces.

8.4 Identity and Dress

> The Wizard
>
> A steward walks into the marquee, someone speaks up "Oh I didn't recognise you! Good disguise." He was dressed as a wizard. He replied, "No I'm in disguise normally
>
> [Ethnographic Note, Shambala, 2014].

This interaction occurred between volunteers at Shambala Festival in 2014. The wizard replied quickly without hesitation, he was not making a joke but sounded completely matter of fact when he stated that he was normally disguised. It hints at how identities created, or embodied (been active in the past) are being used in festival spaces but not as a reactionary, rather are showing young people's 'real selves' and demonstrating how the space facilitates positive interactions. The festival fuelled young people to express

themselves in the ways they feel are genuine and to show their authentic selves. The ethnographic note, *Wizard*, also raises questions about performance (Goffman 1978:29), the young person is insisting that the wizard persona is his 'true self' therefore, his presentation in real life is to be considered his unauthentic self, it is in festivals that he finds the ability to present and embody his real self. The imagined maps produced by young people showed a reflection on the self. As the methods chapter discussed, young people were given no prompting on what to include in their maps. Two young people wanted to place themselves into their maps, presenting self-portraits. There are many elements conceptualised in Figure 19; nature, the weather, friends and solidarity, music and dance. However, the largest image on the map is the self, indicating that the other elements are not as important as the wider self, or are part of the larger self. The map also shows extreme emotions citing laughter till it hurts and feeling emotional enough to cry.

Figure 19 Imagined Map, 30 years old, Shambala, 2016, E1.

Figure 20 overleaf shows an enlarged image of the self-portrait from the imagined map, (Shambala, 2016, E1). The young woman wrote the comment next to her depiction of self, ‘Stand up and be your true self’. The use of the phrase ‘true self’ suggests that this person feels able to show her true self in festival spaces; leading to feelings of freedom of expression and an ability to embody an identity that is self-created and authentic in festival spaces. The stick person is the largest graphic on the map and apart from smiles or frown faces is the only representation of people. The person is smiling, along with the smiling faces and word laughter on the map, this suggests that there are strong feelings of happiness in festival spaces. The fact that the self- portrait is diagonally opposite the remark of freedom suggests that they are linked, freedom is supporting the ability of young people to be their true selves.

Figure 20 Imagined Map, 30 years old, Shambala, 2016, E1.

The second imagined map that represented self also came from Shambala festival 2016, see Figure 21. The young person centred the map on their mind, not an external mapping of the space, like many of the others but instead a self- portrait depicting the internal festival of the mind. The festival facilitated an exploration of her own mind and sense of self and this is reflected in the map she produced. The festival and subsequent transformation, for her is impacting on her sense of self, demonstrated by the confines of the map being within the picture of a head. Attending the festival was a personal, colourful experience, the power of which is shown by the lines drawn emanating out from the head, like rays coming from the head, the symbol of the brain, emotions and the self.

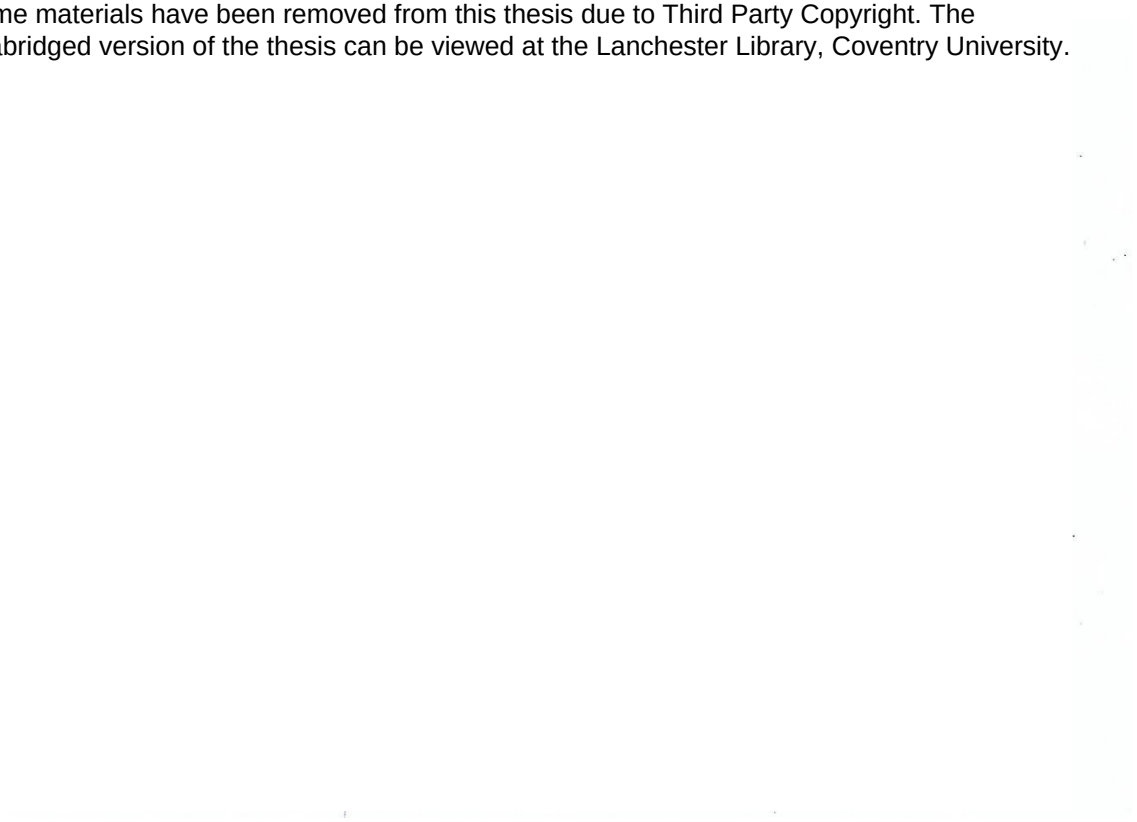


Figure 21 Imagined Map, 29 years old, Shambala, 2016, EM.

8.4.1 Feathers & Penguins

This chapter has discussed individual constructions of self, it will now explore the collective festival body and dress to explore what these expressions tell us about the emotional impacts of the festival on young people.

Feathers and Penguins

> Greg. 5-foot-tall, stick thin wearing nothing but boxers, a pirate hat and feathers, lots of feathers. Running in circles mumbling 'I'm the best' and jumping into people. I looked at my band and him. Without a word spoken we walked along, found a triangular supporting section of the metal fencing and threw him over it, trapping him. He actually flapped trying to get out, feathers flew everywhere.
>
> I see two giant penguins freeing Greg. I walk over to penguin one and say hello 'Greetings' I say. The penguins are Sarah and David, friends of Greg. They laughed at our ingenious prison system but asked to take him back. We were all going to the same campsite so we went together and I learned their story. Sarah first met David at bloodstock last year, it was her first bloodstock, her mates ditched her, she was down almost in tears until this guy David came over to see if she was ok, she looks up and sees David. Dressed as a penguin. love at first sight. happy anniversary
>
> [P R.A, Bloodstock, 2015].

Sarah and David spent their festival dressed as penguins, it was an act of unity which had history and emotional meaning for them both. Sarah, David and Greg have all adopted a persona. For Sarah and David, the association is a deeper one. Their penguin identities are rooted in memory and romance. Their costumes are the same showing a shared identity, creating bonds through a shared narrative and shared presentation of self, both personally and as a couple. It was an identity that had positive associations; those of friendship, connections and the practice of talking with strangers. It became a tradition for the couple and an embodied experience that held strong emotional ties and memories. It also demonstrated a visual representation of solidarity with one another, they were uniform and Sarah spoke to having gained confidence through their shared rituals and customs.

Greg's appearance and behaviour is so embodied that it creates a reaction from those around him, who treat him like a bird, caging him. The description of him being caged is tangible, '*He actually flapped trying to get out, feathers flew everywhere'.* The dress and personification enabled for him to act and behave in ways that he would not do outside of the space and for others to react and treat him differently too. He embodied his character and gained a freedom of expression and behaviour through his personification.

The Penguins showed how young people were experimenting with dress and characters showing playfulness with identities and senses of self. The Penguins were festival identities enthused with meaning and symbolism, the young people involved found it an empowering identity: it gave Sarah confidence. Being ordinarily shy, being a penguin enabled her to speak to strangers and it had joined her to another person and brought others to join their tribe. There was a set of characteristics embodied in the penguin identity, a 'hyper' friendliness with open social borders to anyone who wanted to join, a high level of socialness, loyalty and playfulness.

8.4.2 Gender Fluidity

> It is strange I really quite like wearing a dress [pause] I didn't think I would. Maybe I like it a bit too much [laughs]
> [Ethnographic Note, Luke, 26 years old, Shambala, 2014].

The themes discussed so far in this chapter have highlighted the visual differences occurring in festival spaces, but many young people also commented how festivals have a deeper personal and emotional impact for them, which I now consider. I suggest that in the process of changing their appearance young people reflected on their own sense of self. Many young people commented that they would not dress like this in 'real life' but by doing so in festival spaces they were able to play with concepts of self and identity that they didn't

feel like they could do outside. Gender Swap Day at Shambala was a key example of this. The extract above, from a conversation with Luke, was experienced on Gender Swap Day. I had met Luke because he had camped near me and we had both come on our own. We soon joined a group of young women in a larger tent next to both of ours. Luke was hanging out with four women, a dynamic he didn't usually do. We convinced him to dress up on Friday, the traditional 'Freaky Friday[30]' subsequently re-named in future years as 'Fruity Friday' after consideration. The gendered dynamic of the group facilitated his openness to dress up, he was 23 years old and didn't have many female friends, preferring to hang out with men his own age, he enjoyed lad culture.

[30] The name given to the day in which Shambala attendees are encouraged to swap genders. Dress and embody another gender. It has had several name changes over the last few years; Freaky, Fruity and most recently Freedom Friday.

Figure 22 Luke, Photo Taken by Author, Shambala, 2014.

For Luke, the opportunity to do something he would not normally do had unconsidered consequences. He confided that he enjoyed the experience, the tactility of wearing a dress and acting in a feminised manner that day. The game of ‘dress up’ gave him an insight his own femininity and although taken aback by it. He also stated how he would do it again. Luke was not trans, but festivals gave him an opportunity to play with his gender identity in a safe, friendly, way which would not have been possible outside of that space. Other data

supported Luke's experience with one young man answering Yes, that he was acting differently in festival spaces as "I am wearing a dress" (Questionnaire, 29 years old, Shambala, 2015), again showing how gender identity was being played with because it was acceptable thing to do in festivals. What coincided at this moment was solidarity and trust between a temporary tribe and solidarity of many others participating in a gender swap, a space which facilitated openness and experimentation and an architectural motivation and ritual. Shambala festival facilitated the exploration of gender identity through its 'Fruity Friday', a conceived space (Lefebvre 1991) and one ritual of the festival that had wider reaching emotional implications for Luke.

8.5 Consequences of Festival Bodies

Young people experience festivals in an embodied way, both physically and emotionally and I now turn to the theme of festival emotions. The questionnaires directly asked whether the festival made young people feel or act differently and the most common answer was 'Yes'. The question was included to explore how the festival space is impacting on the lived emotional experiences of young people. As one young woman noted, the festival did make her feel differently, it made her 'feel alive' (Questionnaire, 21 years old, Bloodstock, 2015). Which fits into the concept that within the festival young people are constructing and exploring their 'real selves', awakening and playing with their authentic self and in doing so feeling positive emotions. However, two respondents did state they were experiencing negative emotions associated with lack of sleep, apart from feelings of fatigue, the emotional responses all painted a positive picture.

Extremes and intensity is a theme that has been looked at in relation to other social and geographical phenomena in this work, the weather, the closeness of people. Within this chapter there is also a current of extreme. A desire to be a bigger self, a hyper identity, more glitter, behaving more extreme. As the section above on drink and drugs discussed

there is an element of doing ‘more’ and as the discussion on identities shows a desire from young people to be ‘more’ themselves is common in festival spaces. It is unpacking this extreme sense of identity and self that leads to an understanding of the space as facilitating hyper identities with young people. The questionnaires often included the use of the term ‘more’, it occurred 65 times indicating a differentiation by young people about themselves inside and out of festivals. For them music festivals brought out a hyper self, a stronger way of being, they answered; Yes, “more lively and social” (Questionnaire, 33 years old, Glastonbury, 2015), “Yes – more freedom – more energetic” (Questionnaire, 20 years old Glastonbury, 2015). It was illustrating that they were acting in ways they felt were truer to themselves, more authentic. In reference to the impact of this truer self the next section will look at three emotions, as they were the most common to emerge from the questionnaires; happiness, openness and freedom to illuminate the effects festivals have for young people.

8.5.1 Happiness

From the questionnaire data there were 14 references to being happy. Happiness was the most common response to the question of do you feel differently in the festival. The responses also indicated how happiness was linked with other feelings, it had positive influences on the way young people saw themselves and how they acted shown as they remarked on a growth in confidence, being chattier or how they danced more. Festival happiness also had a social function one respondent stated: ‘Feel happy happy happy! More confident → speak to anyone & everyone’ (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). Highlighting the interrelationship at music festivals between self and solidarity. The festival was having a lived, embodied effect on young people at the micro level of their own self and this positively influenced how they saw themselves and interacted with others.

8.5.2 Openness

Another emergent emotion articulated by young people was that of openness. One young person commented on the positive influence the festival was having on her, she said the festival made her ‘more open / approachable / engaging’ (Questionnaire, 23 years old, Shambala, 2015). This is evidence of how the festival space was facilitating engagement. Youth participation is highly criticised but this demonstrates how the festival was engaging young people, it made this young person feel more open to other people, she felt a stronger connection with others and a higher value in the space, a higher level of engagement. Young people at festivals felt an openness to one another, an openness to new experience and an openness with themselves, as chapter seven evaluated in a discussion of reflection. Openness engaged young people in the space, encouraging them to be active citizens in the space. They valued festivals, felt ownership of the space and emotions of openness and happiness encouraged positive engagement with the festival, its tribe, spirituality but also beyond it. Opening out their thinking to consider themselves and their futures.

8.5.3 Freedom

Freedom underlies concepts of the self; this section will explore the emotional ability it has for young people to express themselves. The empirical data showed a space where young people felt that they had a high level of freedom, mimicking a lack of freedom outside of the festival context. As chapter two explored, the representation of music festivals and their citizens is one of little social value. However, this perception disregards the emancipatory potential of freedom. In festival young people are feeling freer, freer to express themselves and this freedom is having a positive impact on their behaviours, as one young person stated, ‘Yes – more sociable, and much less timid. You can be whoever you want’ (Questionnaire, 18 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). They felt the space was a liberating experience and one that allowed them and anyone to ‘be whoever you want’ without backlash or fear. The idea that outside the space in everyday society there is a limitation

on young people's abilities to feel free is evident. Another illustrated this by saying, 'Yes – feel more open / accepted – behave so' (Questionnaire. 22 years old, Shambala, 2015). He felt the space was more open and he felt more accepted, the feeling of being able to be who you truly are and feeling accepted illustrates the emancipatory nature of the festival. Without normal social and cultural norms about dress and behaviour young people are feeling more power and agency. The imagined map (Figure 19) shows one young person's reflection on self and states, emphasised in glitter, 'freedom to be creative and open your mind to new things' (Shambala, 2016, E1). Freedom is an important element for this young person and festivals are promoting these feelings of freedom.

Freedom is also important to consider in relation to Goffman's (1978) concept of 'audiences'. The construction of self and the performance of self he asserts is co-constructed by those other individuals around the person, these people he calls the audience. As social norms and behaviours are suspended, the festival audience are more open to accepting alternative, weird, glittery and flamboyant ideas of self. Losing yourself was also included in this discussion of freedom as it is closely linked to an overall feeling of freedom, several articulated how they felt they could, 'let go of control' (Questionnaire, 18 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015) and 'let yourself go' (Questionnaire, 28 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). Some articulated why they could feel a greater sense of freedom, 'less restrictions and an opportunity to try new things' (Questionnaire, 24 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). Suggesting it is a dropping of social and cultural norms that enabled young people to feel freer.

Feeling freedom is constructing freedom, as Bey articulates one key element to TAZ is psychological liberation, 'That is, we must realize (make real) the moments and spaces in which freedom is not only possible but actual' (Bey 1991:20) and as this chapter has shown, young people are behaving, acting and embodying freedom. The negative social perception of young people, present in outside society and explored in chapter two, had no place or consideration in festivals, the articulation of freedom showed that no one felt

judged or socially controlled within the festival. The narratives, discourses and oppression outside did not reach inside the festival. Different rules, no rules and open space fuelled creativity and exploration of self in festival spaces, and many ‘completely let loose’ (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Beautiful Days, 2015). Young people’s behaviour, most commonly cited their drink and drug behaviour, is a consequence of this letting loose, ‘feel happier and acting less cautiously’ (Questionnaire, 19 years old, Bloodstock, 2015). However, young people’s activity is often negatively over scrutinised by wider older society as being hedonistic and detrimental to themselves and society as a whole. The evidence looked at in terms of freedom shows the positive ways in which it was improving the personal feelings of young people towards themselves, how they felt about themselves and others in that festival community. This discussion of freedom begs the question, if it is a strongly felt emotion within the festival is it one that is missing or absent outside? One young person stated how they felt, ‘less restrained, more outspoken’ (Questionnaire, 29 years old, Bloodstock, 2015). In normal society they therefore do feel constrained and unable to be themselves, suggesting that outside inhibits freedom for young people, potentially impacting on their well-being. To conclude the discussion of freedom or how festivals made young people feel ‘more liberal’ (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Shambala, 2015), one statement stood out. For this young woman festivals made her feel ‘joy and energy, myself more’ (Questionnaire, 22 years old, Shambala, 2015). It is the feeling of being ‘more’, a real and authentic self, an unjudged self that this chapter has outlined which is impacting on a personal level for young people, contradicting the perception that the space has only a temporal impact on young people and that it has little positive wider social value. Young people are constructing festival bodies and are empowered to play with concepts of self, as one young woman stated, ‘given a space I’ll play’ (Questionnaire, 20 years old, Shambala, 2015).

8.6 Conclusion

We express ourselves through our bodies and festivals are no exception, indeed they are an intensified version of such expressions. However, the 'festival body' is not a counter-cultural body but an appearance enhanced by the lack of social and cultural norms, a playful and natural way to be oneself. The process of beautification in festivals appears to have a positive effect on the emotional well- being of young people. They can express themselves in ways they feel they cannot in the outside world. It is therefore inherently a political practice. The festival space is emancipatory and as I have demonstrated through the exploration of the effect of freedom on young people, it is a liberating space. By drawing on fieldwork data I have established a connection between the site of the body and the emotions experienced by young people. As Synnott, (1993) comments, 'Any construction of the body, however, is also a construction of the self as embodied; and, as such, influences not only how the body is treated but also how life is lived' (Synnott 1993:37). Rather than being escapist or hedonistic, beautification and camouflage are rooted in young people's emancipation and ability to feel able to express, thus both showing the festival as a space of play, and the outside society as limited, closing down and restraining young people in their everyday lives. This chapter has argued that festival spaces are transformative ones. Even if the practices do not continue outside of the festival, young people's experiences of those freedoms have lasting effects. The space can change the ways in which young people see themselves. Where they feel oppressed in the outside world, in festival spaces they build confidence, feel empowered and construct themselves in ways they could not outside. As Mills, (1973) states:

> The pop festival 'breaks down your personality' – that straight jacket which mere existence within society little by little enforced upon one. At the festival one went

> through, in modified and attenuated form, the dissolution of the old self and rediscovery of the new (Mills 1973:168).

The music festival was liberating in 1973 when this extract was written and this work has shown how it is still taking place in today's festivals, in new ways and forms. For young people music festivals allow them to experiment with dress and beautification whilst for others, music festivals allow them the ability to express elements that they feel they cannot or are unable to in wider society, either because they lack the confidence, the time, the spirit or they fear judgement. Music festivals are a site of personal growth and the exploration of the self. They offer the possibility to experiment in a space free from social and cultural norms, free from constructions of time, alongside a space which encourages radical self-expression. Young people can engage experiment, play and redefine the self. Overall this chapter has shown how a sense of freedom and liberation within these alternative spaces, enables young people to make sense of self in an empowered space.

9.

Chapter Nine - Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to re-frame the ways that music festivals are understood, by broadening the perception of festivals to include the positive ways that they impact on young people. Through the emergent themes of space, solidarity, spirituality and self, this work has presented the ways that the space encourages alternative positive action from young people. Music festivals are a part of many young people's summers and have an implication on the ways that they see the world. Wider acknowledgement of the significance of the processes that take place at music festivals is key to facilitating an active citizenry. By perpetuating the elements, spaces and practices the encourage young people socially and collectively wider society can openly engage young people. Festival space gives rise to a myriad of social phenomena that have a positive effect on young people: engaging them in forming tribes, bonding and uniting them in a shared space with a shared purpose and providing the opportunity for the exploration of personal identity and meaning. Music festivals represent a space within which young people can consider new futures and play with new identities and ways of seeing the world.

The aim of my research was to demonstrate the ways young people use the social space of music festivals to fashion contextualised narratives of meaning, which counter a dominant discourse that presents them as socially disengaged and hedonistic. Through the exploration of the social processes that were witnessed and experienced by young people at music festivals, this work has presented an alternative narrative. This re-framing is supported by empirical evidence and academic theory and challenges the prevailing view

of young people and festival spaces. This work has demonstrated how festivals empower and engage young people in a process of transformation, allowing them to play with, create and construct tribes, spirituality and identities. Festival spaces facilitate this counter-cultural narrative and illuminate the positive ways that young people contribute to creating a united community and foster a sense of belonging, as well as having a transformative effect on personal ideas of self and identity.

My research met its aims by developing a critical engagement with the research objectives–

1. To critically analyse the prevailing narratives about young people in UK and dominant discourses about music festivals.
2. To develop a grounded theory informed analysis of the social meanings young people, attach to their engagement and experiences in music festivals.
3. To identify the specific features of music festivals, which enable young people to articulate a counter-cultural discourse of meaning.
4. To describe and critically analyse the key features of this counter-cultural discourse of meaning.

The first objective was met in chapters two and three through a critical evaluation of the social, spatial and spiritual literature concerning young people and music festivals. This review concluded that there are negative prevailing discourses that are affecting the collective way that society perceives the space and its participants. The second objective was met through ethnographic and qualitative fieldwork, employing a data-led approach that gave insight into the social processes young people were engaged in and actively creating. This led to the identification of four key features that young people were negotiating at festivals; space, solidarity, spirituality and self. These four analysis chapters fashioned an original counter cultural narrative, a new discourse that challenges existing

understandings of the space. The four analysis chapters looked at the way that these features were being created and placed them in the wider theoretical framework, contextualising them in wider academic discussions. I found that young people were engaged in an active process of shaping space, in ways more liberated than outside of festivals. The festival space was influencing their social, spiritual and emotional practices in ways unconsidered by myself initially and by wider society, a reflection on the established media representations.

I have added an original strand to the discussion of music festivals and the search for meaning amongst young people by showing how festivals can be understood as temporal autonomous zones (Bey 1991). This is significant as little research has been conducted on how the commercial music festival scene fits into the framework of the TAZ, which evolved alongside the free festival movement. This research has shown that although the nature of festivals seems to have changed and the original ethos has been considered lost to capitalism and commercialisation, the festival space continues to operate and facilitate counter cultural thinking.

9.2 Summary

Chapter one presented the study, my motivation for the research and how it emerged as a site of interest. The introduction framed the personal direction that influenced the study alongside the theoretical concepts that have been drawn on to intertwine empirical data, reflexivity and analysis. The second section of this work drew from literature, chapters two and three critiqued, using grey literature and academic voices, the representations of young people and music festivals, in doing so, highlighted the gaps that exist in the academic landscape about music festivals and the construction of the spaces in the public imagination.

Chapter two problematised the representation of music festivals and suggested an approach to spatial theory to refocus consideration on a more nuanced understanding of festival spaces as sites of action, counter cultural activity and resistance. It also outlined the roots of youth theory which is a pillar for the theoretical understandings elicited from the empirical analysis. Chapter three outlined the central thinking on spirituality and young people, arguing that festival spaces facilitate and encourage exploration of identity and spirituality. This chapter has drawn from academic literatures and theorisation of both private and personal concepts of belief and belonging, by framing the current context of the everyday lives of young people. A critical engagement with the concept of liquid modernity enabled me to theorise the fragmentation of identity and spirituality amongst young people. The chapter explored how festivals present a fragmented festival citizen, whilst simultaneously arguing that this does not mean a rise of atomised individualism.

The methodology chapter set out the frame that shaped and guided my research. It presented the multiple methods that this study utilised and emphasised the iterative nature through which this research developed. This chapter considered the critical, ethnographic and participatory elements that made up the holistic approach that identified the issue, of representation, as being key to a critical approach. It outlined how I made my position as a researcher transparent through reflexivity, one component of ethnography. Finally, it discussed how I ensured that young people were at the heart of the research design and process through creative methods of mapping and their shared engagement in analysis. The chapter considered how the methods chosen enabled me to realise the objectives of the study and addressed the concerns of producing a study that co-created knowledge, alongside participants, interrelated with academic conversations. Each method was carefully considered, and close attention was paid to how they developed, what the strengths and limitations of each were and, importantly, how each addressed the research questions posed for this study. The approach underpinned the research design, an approach that had at its base a desire to challenge and investigate the real processes that

took place at music festivals. The design was supported and developed through an active engagement with theoretical literature, from critical (Bauman 2000; De Certeau 1984), neo-tribal (Maffesoli 1995; Bennett 1999,2000,2005; Riley et al 2010) and anarchic (Bey 1991) perspectives. This was the empirical methodological frame I took into the field, and one which enabled me to respond creatively to the data I gathered and address unanticipated themes that arose during fieldwork - space (Bakhtin 1965; Turner 1969) and spirituality (Lynch 2006; Partridge 2006). Messiness complete, the design that emerged represents a collection of experiential and researched ways of doing that created a unique study into the lived reality of young people's experiences at music festivals.

The first fieldwork chapter, five, explored the hybrid nature of music festivals by showing how young people are subverting conceived festival space. There is an interrelationship between the social processes and the construction of space, with each influencing, shaping and transforming the other. Drawing from Lefebvre's (1991) classification of space I evaluated how the festival context embodied the triad of space; conceived, perceived and representational space. Young people are appropriating and altering the space within the festival, producing space through active involvement. This chapter conceptualised music festivals as unique spaces that encouraged alternative thinking, action and creativity. The physicality of music festivals; rurality, nature, camping and its architecture disrupted social and cultural norms that inhibit young people from trying, playing and engaging in spaces. It concluded by highlighting that the experience of festival spaces was facilitating new forms of social, spiritual and individual practices among young people.

Following a framing of festival space, the fieldwork chapters continued to explore how the social landscape of music festivals was formed. Chapter six drew on social theory that reflected post-modern, liquid forms of social groups. Tribes and families were considered as alternative ways that young people formed connections and relationships at music festivals. The chapter analysed the social processes that create connections

between young people; purpose, shared experience and ritual, to identify how young people unite and why senses of solidarity, although often temporal, embody strong emotional connections. The tribes created represent more natural ways of socialising, facilitated by different social and cultural norms, and projected the ways that young people wish to live amongst and with one another. This chapter identified a theme that ran through my fieldwork chapters. It became clear that the phenomena that I witnessed at music festivals, once aligned with literature, hinted at the types of interactions that came naturally to young people, they embodied feelings of freedom and emerged from bottom up practices at music festivals. The chapter highlighted how young people wish to live and what they may miss in their everyday lives, therefore indicating why festivals embody concepts of freedom. Music festivals represent a site within which the ideas that young people value can be articulated naturally, once social and cultural norms are removed new, natural and emancipatory norms of socialness can be expressed.

Chapter seven explored spirituality amongst young people at music festivals and was dual-natured exploring both: collective and individual ideas of spirituality. It was the most surprising emergent theme in this work and was deeply interrelated with the other three fieldwork concepts, as the space and predominantly nature played a leading role in the construction of spirituality. The emergent spirituality at music festivals recalled the history of music festivals and New Age thinking, whether intentionally or unconsciously, young people were presenting in spiritual ways. Ideas about the formation of spirituality were drawn on to discuss its nature and significance in the liminal festival space (Turner 1969). The interrelation between the specific social space of the festival and the search for meaning enabled young people to articulate an organic and individualised spirituality, illuminating how temporal festival spaces encourage the exploration of spirituality, utopianism and the future amongst young people.

The fieldwork chapters were concluded by an exploration of self, which encompassed the individual elements, processes and features that young people

expressed at music festivals. Painting and decorating the body, alongside emotions and identities are considered as representing freedom of expression, as bodies and emotions are emancipated from constrictive norms that are held in outside society the festival body emerged. The colourful festival body is an illustration of the body social (Synnott 1993), and the festival body has an emotional impact on young people. Freedom and play are being embodied in the flesh, and the body is projecting emotions of freedom and joy. The chapter concludes by suggesting that young people are finding and experiencing empowering moments at music festivals, which encourage them to consider themselves and society differently beyond the space.

Postmodernist interpretations understand that society and culture are socially and contextually produced. This enacts on music festival spaces in two ways, firstly as chapter three and five have shown social and cultural norms are suspended, fully or partially at music festivals, due to the unique countercultural history of the space, its purpose and the people it brings together. As the social and cultural norms are suspended it encourages alternative thoughts and ways of being that disrupt and reconstruct music festival society and culture. Secondly the space (context) and the people who are attracted to music festivals are constructing a unique form of culture; a creative, spiritual and importantly, empowering one for young people. It is a form of society that embodies freedom for young people, this is a major reason why the space is important to them and why they continue their ‘pilgrimage’ to music festivals each year. I was swept along with the current, my participants and my analysis, and to disentangle myself and position from this work would be a disservice to the research process and therefore, to the representations and narratives put forward. The space has been key in my own transitions twice in my lifetime, at the age of 14 years old and again at 26 years old when I started fieldwork for this research.

My research makes an original contribution to and strengthens a growing body of literature that is seeking, through the re-presentation of young people’s leisure spaces and activities, to broaden society’s perspectives and understandings of young people. Festivals

should be understood as offering a wider benefit to society beyond the festival time and space, therefore this work seeks to re-frame the perception of festivals and show the ways that they can be beneficial and, although loved by many, are under-considered.

9.3 Further Study

There are several areas that this study was not able to explore that are worthy of analysis and further empirical research. An emergent area of consideration would be the influences of music festivals outside of festival spaces. Research could explore the effects of festivals among young people after the festival season to see whether they influence the way young people perceive wider society and their role and position within it, outside of the space. Another avenue of research would be to find out what other spaces are young people active participants in and feel invested in? To explore these sorts of alternative youth spaces, other temporal spaces could be investigated; Pride or the Notting Hill Carnival are both interesting as temporal urban spaces of youth engagement. Contemporary identities in terms of; race, gender and sexuality are expressed in these carnivalesque spaces and can illuminate the cultural significance of these spaces of celebration, play and creation for different identities: Afro-Caribbean and the LGBTQI + community. Both festivals have a unique cultural significance and draw young people into a temporal carnival experience which fits well with Bakhtin's theories of the carnivalesque. To explore whether the social phenomena identified in this study is unique to the UK it would be beneficial to do a comparative study, the place and country that would be interesting to study would be Burning Man Festival in the United States, an established, reoccurring liminal and carnivalesque festival space. It would illuminate whether the social processes of unity are unique to the UK or whether the restrictive nature of the everyday world is operating in the same way in the USA. Or, it may be that young people in the USA are projecting other forms that relate to their own specific context.

To expand on this research methodologically, this work could be undertaken in a further participant-led way. Music festival spaces are being occupied by young people, and one obvious way to explore the space further would be to engage young people in the collection of data. Festivals are spaces that young people want involvement in, as this study has shown, therefore informing and facilitating young people to become peer researchers would enable more of a youth voice within research on young people and within festival spaces. Research could utilise a range of creative methods: the visual practices of drawing or photography and video research, which lend themselves to these extra-ordinary spaces. Another method would be the insight gained by analysing the writings and observations of young people, which could be captured with participant research diary methods that are written, photographed or videoed. To my knowledge, there is no such participatory research at music festivals with any age groups.

The festival space has been successfully utilised as a test ground or laboratory for alternative practices of harm reduction methods in respect to drug use. The We Are the Loop group have successfully run drug testing at music festivals for two years and are moving from music festivals into urban centres next year. The music festival space has enabled many radical practices and has helped to move public discourse about drugs forward both legally and socially. Festival space, through the suspension and disruption of norms, has allowed this service to develop and led to a change in public perception about harm reduction methods, it has almost certainly saved lives and has now transitioned beyond the festival space and into other areas. This process demonstrates how counter cultural practices and ways of thinking at music festivals can impact on stereotypes, narratives and negative discourses outside the festival environment.

Spirituality was an interesting theme and one that would benefit from further investigation. Contemporary understandings of spirituality amongst young people in alternative spaces, whether temporal, counter cultural or ‘out of the ordinary’, could be explored to see how space facilitates spiritual thinking in young people and whether this

emergent spiritual thinking has longevity. There is also a call to explore emergent contemporary New Age practices, investigating what alternative ideas young people have about the earth and what this may reveal about young people's relationship with nature in an environmentally precarious world. Considering ideas of space, findings from this study could be translated to other spaces of public protest, such as peace camps and March for Our Lives in the USA, to explore how shared purposes and experiences in space can facilitate strong, alternative forms of solidarity.

This research highlights new strands of knowledge, new ways of seeing music festivals, alongside, at some points, evidencing my own agenda to create new narratives that make visible the way young people create and are created by music festivals. My research has demonstrated the creative agency of young people in a music festival context. The insights I have gained in one very specific context have the potential to re-frame thinking about identify formation and active citizenship amongst young people more broadly. Such steps can play an important part in strengthening the empowerment the voice of young people, not just in a festival context but in wider society. Music festivals have been explored as a location of agency, a site and space of hope, imagination and therefore, 'meaning making' thereby creating new realities. A space of investment for young people. Despite the near-constant negative press around young people at music festivals, they remain our best hope for innovative community-building and although deeply misrepresented, youth people; their energy, creativity and agency should be captured, their voices and experiences valued.

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Appendices

Participant Information Sheet

Study: *Festivals Spaces of Exception.*

What is the Research for?

The study is being conducted by Eve Buck-Matthews, PhD candidate at Coventry University in the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations. Under the supervision of Professor Mike Hardy, Professor Heaven Crawley and Dr Thomas Thurnell-Read. This work will explore music festivals to identify whether there are different types of social engagement and participation that happen in these spaces.

Why am I doing it? I am looking to see whether young people show different forms of community and participation within festival spaces.

How long will it take? It should take no longer than 20 minutes to go through the survey

Why have you been chosen? The people taking part in this survey have been randomly selected regardless of gender, background, ethnicity and age.

What will I do? I'll collect the questionnaire's and keep them safe and the data secure and confidential.

What will happen to the data after it has been collected? I will collect the information that you provide, these will be analysed. Your responses will be anonymous. The results may form part of a PhD thesis and may be published in academic journals or presented at conferences however, you will not be identified in any work published or unpublished.

Your contact details are not collected and you will not be contacted in the future.

What are the benefits of taking part? You will be contributing to broadening the understanding of participation amongst young people. This study is designed to expand how we understand social and political participation and challenge the public opinion that young people are apathetic and disengaged with wider society.

What will happen if you want to quit? Your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your data until March 2016.

A) What happens if I want to quit the interview? You are free to quit at any time, if you have started the questionnaire your responses will be destroyed and none of your data will be used.

B) What happens if I want to withdraw my data from the study? If you want to withdraw data you are free to do so up until March 2016. You can do this by contacting myself or my supervisor - Mike Hardy on the contact details at the bottom of this page.

Is it confidential? Your responses will be kept completely confidential and only the main researcher; Eve Buck-Matthews, will have access to the information you provide. No personal data will be collected and your responses will be stored in a password protected folder on a secure hard drive and will only be used for the purpose of this study. We assure you that your information will not be made available to anyone who is not involved in this study.

What risks are involved? During the study you won't experience any harm, there are no physical or mental risks associated with taking part in the study and you can withdraw at any time.

Festival Goer Questionnaire

What is your age? _____

Male, Female or Other? _____

What is your highest Qualification? (circle)

No Formal GCSE/O Levels A Level BTEC Degree Post-Graduate Other

What is your Job? _____

What were your reasons for coming to the festival?

Are you weekend camping?

If Yes why did you chose to camp?

What is the worst / best aspect of camping?

Why did you chose this festival over other summer festivals?

Since arriving have you behaved differently than you would do at home? YES / NO

If Yes, in what way?

Do you feel / act differently during a festival? Yes / No

Details

Are you going to any other festivals this year?

If yes, which?

Informed Consent Form [31]

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Participant Information Sheet.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
9.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____ _____ _____

Name of Participant Signature Date

Researcher:

_____ _____ _____

Name of Researcher Signature Date

[31] Informed Consent Form Template, Newcastle University, Research and Enterprise Services. Available [online] at; www.ncl.ac.uk/res/research/ethics_governance/.../consent/consent_form_example.doc. Accessed May 2013.

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval

Project Title

Festivals: Spaces of Exception.

Record of Approval

Principal Investigator

I **request an ethics peer review** and confirm that I have answered all relevant questions in this checklist honestly.	X
I confirm that I will carry out the project in the ways described in this checklist. I will immediately suspend research and request new ethical approval if the project subsequently changes the information I have given in this checklist.	X
I confirm that I, and all members of my research team (if any), have read and agreed to abide by the Code of Research Ethics issued by the relevant national learned society.	X
I confirm that I, and all members of my research team (if any), have read and agreed to abide by the University's Research Ethics, Governance and Integrity Framework.	X

Name: Eveleigh Buck-Matthews.....

Date: 14/05/2015.....

Student's Supervisor (if applicable)

I have read this checklist and confirm that it covers all the ethical issues raised by this project fully and frankly. I also confirm that these issues have been discussed with the student and will continue to be reviewed in the course of supervision.

Name: .....

Date: 25/05/2015.....

Reviewer (if applicable)

Date of approval by anonymous reviewer: 12/06/2015

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval Checklist

Project Information

Project Ref	P33576
Full name	Eveleigh Buck-Matthews
Faculty	University Research Centre
Department	Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations
Supervisor	
Module Code	
EFAAF Number	
Project title	Festivals: Spaces of Exception.
Date(s)	24/06/2015 - 31/08/2015
Created	14/05/2015 13:59

Project Summary

This project seeks to broaden concepts of participation and critique the way in which young people are represented in U.K society. One way it will expand the concept of participation and engagement will be through a case study of festival spaces. This involves fieldwork using ethnography, qualitative surveys and walking interviews to collect data within music festivals and with festival participants. The principle aim is to identify whether within festival spaces we see different forms of social / political engagement?

Names of Co-Investigators and their organisational affiliation (place of study/employer)	N/A
Is the project self-funded?	NO
Who is funding the project?	
Has the funding been confirmed?	NO
Are you required to use a Professional Code of Ethical Practice appropriate to your discipline?	NO
Have you read the Code?	NO

Project Details

What is the purpose of the project?	The aim of this study is to explore festival spaces using multiple methods to see whether there is a unique level of social engagement present and whether there are different types of social engagement within music festivals. The principle objective is to identify whether young people (18 - 26 year olds) demonstrate different forms of engagement within festival spaces. Research questions explored are; Within festival spaces can we see different forms of social /political engagement from young people? Also How are festival spaces being used and what can this tell us about how young people engage and connect to the space?
What are the planned or desired outcomes?	The outcome of this work is to explore young people's alternative forms of political and social engagement in spaces such as music festivals. With the desire to see whether a better understanding of contemporary non-traditional forms of participation can be utilised within wider society.
Explain your research design	The methodology that this study takes combines qualitative methods in order to construct a multi-layered data set which will examine different dimensions of the chosen case studies. The work has at its base a grounded theory approach and will examine the processes which are taking place in music festivals with a case study or 3 sites in the UK. During data collection the recording device (dictaphone) that I will use to record my ethnographic notes and which may be used during the walking interviews will be locked away at the end of each day. I will also record written notes using a notebook which, along with the recorder, will be locked away at the end of each night. After the fieldwork is completed all the notes and surveys will be kept in a locked draw. The ethnographic notes and interview recordings which will be in mp3 format and will be put onto a secured

	laptop which will be password protected. The participants will be fully informed about why I am conducing the research and what I will do with the information they provide.
Outline the principal methods you will use	The main method will be ethnography and principally participant observation. This will be recorded by myself alone and will not record any data that could identify any participants or organisations involved. Alongside this surveys will be used to collate festival goers views. A standard public survey design will be used (see attached). Ethnographic data collected will be in the form of field notes, dated and timed. There will between 20 - 30 surveyed in each music festival. All of whom will be over 18 and in receipt of information sheets, I will gain participants consent using the consent forms attached. I will also, if appropriate and with permission from participants conduct walking interviews with participants who undertook surveys, these will be recording using a dictaphone or written in note form. Full disclosure about the project will be given and information sheets will be provided to all participants and all participants will be fully aware of their rights to withdraw at anytime, they will have the ability through contact details on the information sheets provided.
Are you proposing to use an external research instrument, validated scale or follow a published research method?	NO
If yes, please give details of what you are using	
Will your research involve consulting individuals who support, or literature, websites or similar material which advocates, any of the following: terrorism, armed struggles, or political, religious or other forms of activism considered illegal under UK law?	NO
Are you dealing with Secondary Data? (e.g. sourcing info from websites, historical documents)	NO
Are you dealing with Primary Data involving people? (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, observations)	YES
Are you dealing with personal or sensitive data?	NO
Is the project solely desk based? (e.g. involving no laboratory, workshop or off-campus work or other activities which pose significant risks to researchers or participants)	NO
Are there any other ethical issues or risks of harm raised by the study that have not	NO

been covered by previous questions?

If yes, please give further details

DBS (Disclosure & Barring Service) formerly CRB (Criminal Records Bureau)

Question			Yes	No
1	Does the study require DBS (Disclosure & Barring Service) checks?			X
	If YES, please give details of the serial number, date obtained and expiry date			
2	If NO, does the study involve direct contact by any member of the research team:			
	a) with children or young people under 18 years of age?			X
	b) with adults who have learning difficulties, brain injury, dementia, degenerative neurological disorders?			X
	c) with adults who are frail or physically disabled?			X
	d) with adults who are living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres, hospitals or hospices?			X
	e) with adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?			X
	If you have answered YES to any of the questions above please explain the nature of that contact and what you will be doing			

External Ethical Review

Question		Yes	No
1	Will this study be submitted for ethical review to an external organisation? (e.g. Another University, Social Care, National Health Service, Ministry of Defence, Police Service and Probation Office)		X
	If YES, name of external organisation		
2	Will this study be reviewed using the IRAS system?		X
3	Has this study previously been reviewed by an external organisation?		X

Question		Yes	No
1	Are there any reasons why you cannot guarantee the full security and confidentiality of any personal or confidential data collected for the study?		X
	If YES, please give an explanation		
2	Is there a significant possibility that any of your participants, and associated persons, could be directly or indirectly identified in the outputs or findings from this study?		X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case		
3	Is there a significant possibility that a specific organisation or agency or participants could have confidential information identified, as a result of the way you write up the results of the study?		X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case		
4	Will any members of the research team retain any personal of confidential data at the end of the project, other than in fully anonymised form?		X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case		
5	Will you or any member of the team intend to make use of any confidential information, knowledge, trade secrets obtained for any other purpose than the research project?		X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case		
6	Will you be responsible for destroying the data after study completion?	X	

	If NO, please explain how data will be destroyed, when it will be destroyed and by whom	

Confidentiality, security and retention of research data

Participant Information and Informed Consent

Question		Yes	No
1	Will all the participants be fully informed BEFORE the project begins why the study is being conducted and what their participation will involve?	X	
	If NO, please explain why		
2	Will every participant be asked to give written consent to participating in the study, before it begins?	X	
	If NO, please explain how you will get consent from your participants. If not written consent, explain how you will record consent		
3	Will all participants be fully informed about what data will be collected, and what will be done with this data during and after the study?	X	
	If NO, please specify		
4	Will there be audio, video or photographic recording of participants?		X
	Will explicit consent be sought for recording of participants?		
	If NO to explicit consent, please explain how you will gain consent for recording participants		
5	Will every participant understand that they have the right not to take part at any time, and/or withdraw themselves and their data from the study if they wish?	X	
	If NO, please explain why		
6	Will every participant understand that there will be no reasons required or repercussions if they withdraw or remove their data from the study?	X	
	If NO, please explain why		
7	Does the study involve deceiving, or covert observation of, participants?		X
	Will you debrief them at the earliest possible opportunity?		
	If NO to debrief them, please explain why this is necessary		

Risk of harm, potential harm and disclosure of harm

Question		Yes	No
1	Is there any significant risk that the study may lead to physical harm to participants or researchers?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
2	Is there any significant risk that the study may lead to psychological or emotional distress to participants?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
3	Is there any risk that the study may lead to psychological or emotional distress to researchers?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
4	Is there any risk that your study may lead or result in harm to the reputation of participants, researchers, or their employees, or any associated persons or organisations?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
5	Is there a risk that the study will lead to participants to disclose evidence of previous criminal offences, or their intention to commit criminal offences?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
6	Is there a risk that the study will lead participants to disclose evidence that children or vulnerable adults are being harmed, or at risk or harm?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
7	Is there a risk that the study will lead participants to disclose evidence of serious risk of other types of harm?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
8	Are you aware of the CU Disclosure protocol?	X	

Payments to participants

Question		Yes	No
1	Do you intend to offer participants cash payments or any kind of inducements, or reward for taking part in your study?		X
	If YES, please explain what kind of payment you will be offering (e.g. prize draw or store vouchers)		
2	Is there any possibility that such payments or inducements will cause participants to consent to risks that they might not otherwise find acceptable?		
3	Is there any possibility that the prospect of payment or inducements will influence the data provided by participants in any way?		
4	Will you inform participants that accepting payments or inducements does not affect their right to withdraw from the study at any time?		

Capacity to give valid consent

Question		Yes	No
1	Do you propose to recruit any participants who are:		
	a) children or young people under 18 years of age?		X
	b) adults who have learning difficulties, mental health condition, brain injury, advanced dementia, degenerative neurological disorders?		X
	c) adults who are physically disabled?		X
	d) adults who are living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres, hospitals or hospices?		X
	e) adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?		X
	If you answer YES to any of the questions please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent		
2	Do you propose to recruit any participants with possible communication difficulties, including difficulties arising from limited use of knowledge of the English language?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent		
3	Do you propose to recruit any participants who may not be able to understand fully the nature of the study, research and the implications for them of participating in it or cannot provide consent themselves?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent		

Recruiting Participants

Question			Yes	No
1	Do you propose to recruit any participants who are:			
	a)	students or employees of Coventry University or partnering organisation(s)?		X
		If YES, please explain if there is any conflict of interest and how this will be addressed		
	b)	employees/staff recruited through other businesses, voluntary or public sector organisations?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	c)	pupils or students recruited through educational institutions (e.g. primary schools, secondary schools, colleges)?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	d)	clients/volunteers/service users recruited through voluntary public services?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	e)	participants living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres hospitals or hospices?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	f)	recruited by virtue of their employment in the police or armed forces?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	g)	adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	h)	who may not be able to refuse to participate in the research?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		

Online and Internet Research

Question			Yes	No
1	Will any part of your study involve collecting data by means of electronic media (e.g. the Internet, e-mail, Facebook, Twitter, online forums, etc)?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will obtain permission to collect data by this means			
2	Is there a possibility that the study will encourage children under 18 to access inappropriate websites, or correspond with people who pose risk of harm?			X
	If YES, please explain further			
3	Will the study incur any other risks that arise specifically from the use of electronic media?			X
	If YES, please explain further			
4	Will you be using survey collection software (e.g. BoS, Filemaker)?			X
	If YES, please explain which software			
5	Have you taken necessary precautions for secure data management, in accordance with data protection and CU Policy?		X	
	If NO, please explain why not			

Laboratory/Workshops

Question			Yes	No
1	Does any part of the project involve work in a laboratory or workshop which could pose risks to you, researchers or others?			X
	If YES: If you have risk assessments for laboratory or workshop activities you can refer to them here & upload them at the end, or explain in the text box how you will manage those risks			

Research with non-human vertebrates

Question		Yes	No
1	Will any part of the project involve animal habitats or tissues or non-human vertebrates?		X
	If YES, please give details		
2	Does the project involve any procedure to the protected animal whilst it is still alive?		
3	Will any part of your project involve the study of animals in their natural habitat?		
	If YES, please give details		
4	Will the project involve the recording of behaviour of animals in a non-natural setting that is outside the control of the researcher?		
	If YES, please give details		
5	Will your field work involve any direct intervention other than recording the behaviour of the animals available for observation?		
	If YES, please give details		
6	Is the species you plan to research endangered, locally rare or part of a sensitive ecosystem protected by legislation?		
	If YES, please give details		
7	Is there any significant possibility that the welfare of the target species of those sharing the local environment/habitat will be detrimentally affected?		
	If YES, please give details		
8	Is there any significant possibility that the habitat of the animals will be damaged by the project, such that their health and survival will be endangered?		
	If YES, please give details		
9	Will project work involve intervention work in a non-natural setting in relation to invertebrate species other than Octopus vulgaris?		
	If YES, please give details		

Blood Sampling / Human Tissue Analysis

Question			Yes	No
1	Does your study involve collecting or use of human tissues or fluids? (e.g. collecting urine, saliva, blood or use of cell lines, 'dead' blood)			X
	If YES, please give details			
2	If your study involves blood samples or body fluids (e.g. urine, saliva) have you clearly stated in your application that appropriate guidelines are to be followed (e.g. The British Association of Sport and Exercise Science Physiological Testing Guidelines (2007) or equivalent) and that they are in line with the level of risk?			
	If NO, please explain why not			
3	If your study involves human tissue other than blood and saliva, have you clearly stated in your application that appropriate guidelines are to be followed (e.g. The Human Tissues Act, or equivalent) and that they are in line with level of risk?			
	If NO, please explain why not			

Travel

Question			Yes	No
1	Does any part of the project require data collection off campus? (e.g. work in the field or community)		X	
	If YES: You must consider the potential hazards from off campus activities (e.g. working alone, time of data collection, unfamiliar or hazardous locations, using equipment, the terrain, violence or aggression from others). Outline the precautions that will be taken to manage these risks, AS A MINIMUM this must detail how researchers would summon assistance in an emergency when working off campus. For complex or high risk projects you may wish to complete and upload a separate risk assessment	See Risk Assessment attached.		
2	Does any part of the project involve the researcher travelling outside the UK (or to very remote UK locations)?			X
	If YES: Please give details of where, when and how you will be travelling. For travel to high risk places you may wish to complete and upload a separate risk assessment			
3	Are all travellers aware of contact numbers for emergency assitance when away (e.g. local emergency assistance, ambulance/local hospital/police, insurance helpline [+44 (0) 2071 737797] and CU's 24/7 emergency line [+44 (0) 2476 888555])?			
4	Are there any travel warnings in place advising against all, or essential only travel to the destination? NOTE: Before travel to countries with 'against all travel', or 'essential only' travel warnings, staff must check with Finance to ensure insurance coverage is not affected. Undergraduate projects in high risk destinations will not be approved			
5	Are there increased risks to health and safety related to the destination? e.g. cultural differences, civil unrest, climate, crime, health outbreaks/concerns, and travel arrangements?			
	If YES, please specify			
6	Do all travelling members of the research team have adequate travel insurance?			

7	Please confirm all travelling researchers have been advised to seek medical advice regarding vaccinations, medical conditions etc, from their GP		